THE HISTORY OF Oliver Cromwel:

BEING AN

Impartial Account

Of all the Battles, Sieges, and other Military Atchievements, wherein he was Ingaged, in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

AND LIKEWISE,

Of his Civil Administrations while he had the Supream Government of these Three Kingdoms, till his Death.

Relating only Matters of Fact, without Reflection or Observation.

By *R. B.*

Licensed and Entred.

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MVSEVM
BE LAN
NICVM

TO THE READER.

THere have been few Persons upon whose actions so many different Sentiments have passed, as upon those of Oliver Cromwel; some advancing his Courage and Reputation to the height, others on the contrary, depressing them as low, and not allowing that he had any thing praise-worthy in his Conduct, in those great Imployments and Offices, even the Government of the Three Nations which he passed through: Yea, they invade the Almighties Province of judging the Hearts and Thoughts of Men, attributing all to Hypocrisie and Ambition, asserting that he had Hopes and Expectations of raising himself to that Grandeur whereto he after arrived, many years before he attained it; nay, so early as when he was but a Collonel, and can hardly be thought to have had the least prospect thereof. But to leave every Man to his Opinion in this matter, I

thought it might not be unacceptable to my Country-men, to give a plain and Impartial Account of Matters of Fact performed and acted by him, both in his Military, and afterwards in his Civil Capacity, without Reflections on Parties, which ought to be the care of a faithful Historian, if he expects to be believed by Posterity. It is a Maxim, That great Virtues have been often mixed with great Vices in many great men in the World, neither is Cromwel *excused from this Censure, who had several worthy and blameable Qualities in him; but since he is out of the reach either of good or bad Report, I shall leave him, and refer you to read his Atchievements, which are briefly related in the following Manual.*

R. B.

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THE HISTORY OF Oliver Cromwel

Oliver Cromwel was descended of an Ancient Family in *Huntington-shire*, who had a very plentiful Estate; his Grandfather was Sir *Henry Cromwel*, a Person of good Reputation, and had issue five Sons, Sir *Oliver* his Eldest, *Henry*, *Robert*, *Richard* and *Philip*. This our *Oliver Cromwel* was Son of the third Brother *Richard*, who was likewise in much esteem in his Country, and Married *Elizabeth Steward*, [illegible]ce of Sir *Robert Steward*, a Gentleman of a considerable Estate in that Country, by whom he had this *Oliver*, who was born in the Town of *Huntington*, *April* 25. 1599. and had his Name given him by his Uncle Sir *Oliver*. When he was a Child, he seemed to delight in Manlike Exercises, and by the care of his Father was sent to the Free School of that Town, and afterward to *Sydney*-Colledge in *Cambridge*, where while he was

a Student, there were ſeveral Omens of his future Grandeur, and he was obſerved more to be enclined to the Military than Contemplative Life: During his continuance here his Father died, upon which he returned home, and ſpent his time in the Youthful Follies and Extravagancies incident to perſons of his age and temper, whereupon his Mother, by the advice of her Friends, ſent him up to *London*, and placed him in *Lincolns-Inn*, thereby to qualifie him for a Gentleman, and to put him into a Capacity to be ſerviceable to his Country.

Having continued here for ſome time, and not being able to confine himſelf to this Sedentary Imployment, he again returns into the Country, and there proceeds in the ſame lewd courſes as before, but as he grew in years he became more ſolid and conſiderate, inſomuch that in a while he was as remarkable for his Sobriety, as before for his Rudeneſs and Vanity, which ſo much pleaſed and obliged his Uncle Sir *Robert Steward*, that he left him his Heir to a very fine Eſtate of four or five hundred pounds a year. But before this came into his hands by the Death of his Uncle, the reputation of it, and the remarkable alteration in his diſpoſition, recommended him to *Elizabeth*, the Daughter of Sir *James Boucher*, whom he Married, and though at firſt, when this notable reformation was perceived in him, he adhered to the Church of *England*, frequenting the moſt famous Preachers with much ſeeming warmth and zeal, yet afterwards, when thoſe called Puritans grew popular, he began to have a good opinion of them, inviting the Miniſters to his Houſe, and entertaining them with much kindneſs; and to demonſtrate the reality of this change of his mind, there is an inſtance of his freely returning a conſiderable ſum of Money to a perſon from whom he had won it ſome years before by Gaming.

Such actions, and the ſeeming ſincerity of his Converſation,

verſation, raiſed his eſteem yet higher with all perſons of that Party, who had ſuch an opinion of his Wiſdom and Abilities, that when King *Charles* I. called that Parliament in 1640. which for its duration was afterward Named the Long, he was by the Intereſt of his Friends elected Parliament-man for the Town of *Cambridge*. Soon after this the War began between the King and Parliament, one Party declaring they took Arms for defending the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the other the Priviledges of Parliaments, and Liberties of the People.

As ſoon as ever this fatal diviſion happened, wherein ſo many Thouſands afterward loſt their Lives and Eſtates, *Cromwel*, whoſe inclination was always Martial, preſently ingaged in the quarrel, and having obtained a Commiſſion from the Parliament, quickly raiſed a Troop of Horſe for their ſervice, of the moſt promiſing men he could chooſe; and to try their Valour in jeſt, before they came to exerciſe it in earneſt, he ſecretly ordered a dozen of them to iſſue out ſuddenly upon the reſt, with a Trumpet ſounding a Charge, as if they came from ſome of the Kings Garriſons that were not far off, which they performed with ſo much briskneſs, that about twenty of the new Troopers fled away with all poſſible ſpeed, whom *Cromwel* having reproached for their Cowardice, diſmounted and caſhier'd, mounting their Horſes with perſons of a more couragious temper.

He was likewiſe nominated a Commiſſioner in the Ordinance for ſettling the Militia, whereby the *Eaſtern* Countries aſſociated themſelves together, declaring that they would ſtand by the Parliament againſt all Oppoſers, and *Cromwel* being ſenſible that the Univerſity of *Cambridge* was moſt inclined to the Royal Intereſt, he had a particular regard to the place of his Education, and very dexterouſly ſecured both the Town, and a great quantity of the Col-

ledge Plate, even at the very instant when it was upon the point of being conveyed to the King at *Oxford*. After this he forms a Garrison at *Wisbeach*, where a Bridge joins the County of *Norfolk* with the Isle of *Ely*, and is the only passage from thence into *Lincolnshire*, the greatest part whereof was possest by the Kings party; and by this means he cut off all communication between the Loyal Gentlemen of both Counties, wherein he had the assistance of Coll. *Ireton*, with whom he here became first acquainted.

The King in opposition to the Association which the Parliament had settled, issued out his Commission of Array, which was first designed to be put in Execution by Sir *Henry Conniſby*, High Sheriff of *Hertford-shire* at St. *Albans*, who thereby intended to have raised the County for the aid of the King, but

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purpose, who coming suddenly into the Town with a party of Horse, surprized Sir *Henry*, and some other Gentlemen of his Assistants, whom he sent to *London* Prisoners, to the great satisfaction of the Parliament, who were somewhat disturbed that such an attempt should be made so near the City, and thereupon they returned him the thanks of the House, and from this time lookt upon him as a person of Merit and Conduct: After which he soon augmented his Troop to a Thousand, many being willing to adventure their lives with such a fortunate Commander, and about this time hearing that some Knights and Gentlemen were met together at *Lowers-Toft* in *Suffolk*, the chief of whom were Sir *John Petus*, Sir *Edward Baker*, &c. designing to have made a Counter Association in that County and *Norfolk* for the Kings service, with indefatigable diligence he marches thither, seizing and securing them all, which

which was a fatal blow to the Kings Intereſt, and *Lyn Regis*, which the Royaliſts maintained, being ſoon after ſurrendred, was ſo great a diſcouragement to them, that during the whole War they could never after find any opportunity to ſhew their affection to the Kings Cauſe.

The Aſſociated Counties being thus firmly ſettled for the Parliament, *Cromwel* was made Lieutenant-General to the Earl of *Manchester*, who had a ſeparate command of thoſe Aſſociated Counties, and was now ordered to march *Northward* with thoſe Forces, and join with General *Leſly* and the *Scots*, aſſiſted by Sir *Tho. Fairfax*, for reinforcing the Siege before *York*, then beleaguer'd by *Leſly*: In his march he blocks up the Garriſon of *Newark*, and meeting ſome of their party at *Grantham*, he charged them with ſuch fury, that though much ſuperiour to him in number, yet himſelf marching in the Van, he ſoon put them to flight. Having thus made a quick diſpatch at *Newark*, he proceeded to *York*, in which the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle* had put the beſt part of the Kings Forces.

The King having had an advantage againſt the Earl of *Eſſex* at *Leſtithiel* in *Cornwall*, ſent away Prince *Rupert* as General, with a very powerful Army to raiſe the Siege of *York*, which he judged to be of great Importance; the three Generals, *Leſly*, *Manchester*, and *Fairfax*, drew off their Forces from the City to fight him, as knowing if they got the day, it muſt ſurrender to the Victor without blows. The Prince having notice of their raiſing the Siege, ſent ſome of his Troops towards *Haſſam-More*, to face General *Leſly* and his *Scots*, but in the mean time enters into *York* with two thouſand Horſe, and all Proviſions for their relief; after which, he reſolved to fight the Parliamentarians, though much diſſwaded by the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*, knowing what hazard the Eſtates of the Kings Friends would run if he

ſhould miſcarry, and that upon the fate of this Battel the gain or loſs of the *North* depended. However, the Prince pretending to march to *Tadcaſter*, *Leſly* with his Army followed him, but returning again ſuddenly to *Marſton-Moor*, he takes what advantages of ground he thinks fit, and *Leſly* ſoon coming up, the Generals Marſhall'd their Army in the beſt order they could for the ſhortneſs of time, *Fairfax* and *Leſlies* Horſe making the Right Wing, and the *Scotch* Troops and *Mancheſters* the Left, under the command of *Cromwel*, which charge was that day committed to him, the Foot making up the main Body. The Armies being drawn up in this form, the firſt Onſet was performed by Prince *Ruperts* Left Wing, with ſuch fury as they broke the Parliaments Right, and perſuing their advantage with much Vigour, the Earth was ſoon covered with the ſlain.

In the mean while *Cromwel* being in the Left Wing, and ignorant of the misfortune of the Right, with much Courage ingages the Princes Right Wing, which quickly altered the Scene of Affairs, and ſnatch'd the Victory out of the Princes Hand, who ſeemed in probability to have obtained it, for the Lord *Fairfaxes* Forces were totally diſſipated, and beaten out of the Field, when *Cromwel* with his Troops fell on with ſuch Reſolution, that he routed the Prince and his reſerves, and with the ſame Violence charged the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtles* Foot, who yet ſtood till the Field was almoſt cleared, and then were forced to give way to the number of their Enemies; there were many ſlain, eſpecially in the perſuit, and *Cromwel* he obtained the Name of *Ironſides*, from the Impenetrable firmneſs of his Troops, which no force could ſeparate or break. It is thought to be the bloudieſt Fight that happened during the War, it being judged near ten thouſand men were ſlain on both ſides. Upon this defeat, Prince *Rupert* and his Followers charge the miſcarriage upon the *Marqueſs*

of

of *Newcaſtle*, and he again upon them, who thereupon left the Kingdom. The conſequence of this Victory was the rendition of York, which being now afreſh beſieged, and deſpairing of ſuccour, Sir Thomas Glemham, the Valiant Governour was obliged to deliver it up.

This ſucceſs raiſed *Cromwels* reputation higher ſtill, and the Parliament at *Weſtminſter* were extreamly pleaſed with his Courage and Prudence, that when he ſaw part of the Army routed, yet with an undaunted preſence of mind, he took occaſion from thence to animate his Souldiers to the more vigorous recovery of the Victory, even when the Scots had timorouſly left the Field, and of whom for this and other reaſons, he had no great opinion afterward. Several other Exploits he was ingaged in both in the North and Weſt, even before he had any conſiderable command, for while he was in the ſame quality under the Earl of *Mancheſter*, he was ordered to return to the North, to oppoſe the King then marching triumphantly from the Weſt after the defeat of Eſſex, who having been unfortunate in his Enterprizes, *Cromwel* this ſucceſsful Commander was joined with him, who at the ſecond Battel at Newberry, about four months after that at *Marſton-Moor*, was favoured, though not with a compleat Victory, yet with ſuch good fortune, that where his Troops were, the Royaliſts gave back with ſo much precipitation, as greatly endangered the Kings perſon, had not the Earl of *Cleveland* interpoſed, and with much hazard prevented the perſuit.

The War ſtill continuing with much bloodſhed, and no period in probability like to be put to it, the Parliament apprehended want of Conduct in ſome of their chief Commanders, and therefore reſolved to new model their Army, and that no offence might be given to any of their own Members by being diſcarded, they paſs the ſelf-denying Ordinance ſo called, whereby

whereby they declare, 'That no member of Parliament should bear Office in the Army, or Garrisons, 'but altogether attend the service of the House, unless they had leave for so doing; and that within 'forty days from the publishing thereof. By which proceeding, the Earls of *Essex*, *Manchester* and *Denbigh*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and divers others, were dismiss'd; after which they took care to recruit their Forces, which were much diminished by sickness, and the late defeat in the *West*, and in a short time they mustered a compleat Army of twenty one thousand; that is, fourteen thousand Foot, six thousand Horse, and one thousand Dragoons, over whom they constituted Sir *Tho. Fairfax* General, who gave out divers Commissions to them who were then newly culled Independants, and among others, *Ireton* was raised to be Commissary-General of the Horse; who had newly married one of *Cromwels* Daughters, and was as great a Politician as himself.

Upon publishing the fore-mentioned Ordinance, which was in the year 1645, *Cromwel* who was then in the *West*-country, in obedience thereto, immediately returns toward *London*, and having notice that General *Fairfax* was at *Windsor*, he went to wait upon him by the way, and take his leave of him; but the Parliament were too sensible of his usefulness and conduct to discharge him, and therefore the next morning, as soon as he was risen, a Commission was sent him to be Lieutenant-General of the Horse to the whole Army. This alteration gave great hopes to the Royal party, of future success against this new Army, so many principal Commanders being laid aside and discontented, and such a number of unexperienced Youths Listed; but these expectations soon vanished, for *Cromwel* by virtue of the dispensing power of the Parliament, being still continued and advanced to so great a command, to make it appear

that

that they were not miſtaken in their choice, he inſtantly proceeds to action, being ſent by Fairfax with a flying party of Horſe and Dragoons to intercept a convoy of two thouſand Horſe, conſiſting of the Queens, the Earl of Northamptons, and Collonel Palmers Regiments, who with ſome other Troops, were marching to Oxford, with a deſign to bring off the King, and the Train of Artillery, and to procure Recruits for the Army, and ſo join with the Kings main mid-land Forces under Prince Rupert, then about Worceſter, and the borders of Wales, and then take the field. In this exploit Cromwel was ſo extream diligent, that with extraordinary celerity he met with, ſurprized and routed them at Iſlip-bridge, taking five hundred Horſe, and two hundred priſoners, with the Queens Standard, and many perſons of Quality; and puſhing on his ſucceſs, having notice that Sir William Vaughan, with three hundred and fifty Foot, were marching toward Radcot-bridge, he followed them, taking their commander, Lieutenant Coll. Littleton, and two hundred other priſoners, perſuing the reſt to Blechingdon-houſe, where Collonel Windebank was Governour, and in the height of his Victories ſummoned him to an immediate ſurrender, or elſe to expect the utmoſt vengeance of an inraged Souldiery. The Governour terrified with theſe threats, and being over perſwaded by ſome Ladies, who were there come to viſit his Bride, he being newly married, and having little hopes of relief from Oxford, delivered up the Houſe with all the Arms and Ammunition therein; for which, when he came to Oxford, he was ſhot to death by ſentence of a Council of War.

This Enterprize was reckoned as a happy Omen of his future ſucceſs in his new honour, and the prudence of the Parliament magnified in continuing ſo deſerving a commander in the Army; who to ſecure his reputation, reſolved upon a more dangerous attempt,

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to reduce Faringdon-House, of which Sir George Lisle, a person of Invincible courage, was Governour, and a Garrison which had been of great advantage to the King. To effect this considerable service, he took six hundred of M. Gen. Browns Foot at Abington, with which he instantly storm'd the place, but was as stoutly repulsed, and forced to retire with the loss of fifty of his Souldiers, and in his retreat was attackt by a party of L. Gorings Horse, lately come from the siege of Taunton, who gave Cromwel the first check he had yet met with, taking three colours, and Major Bethel prisoner, and then returned to the siege at Taunton.

At this time Fairfax had order to march to the relief of Taunton, and Cromwel was left behind with Brown, to watch the motions of the Kings Army at Oxford, who were then ready to take the field, and to prevent them from joining a brave body of Horse that were coming out of Worcester-shire, under the command of the Princes Rupert and Maurice: But the Royal Army was grown so potent, that Cromwel durst not attempt either to fight, or hinder their march, so that Fairfax was presently remanded and ordered to lye before Oxford, to oblige the King to secure that place, and upon advantage to fight him; when Intelligence came that the King having joined the two Princes, and raised the siege of Chester, beleaguered by Sir William Brereton, was now marching toward the Associated Counties, wherein lay the strength of the Parliament, whereupon Cromwel was ordered with all speed to secure the Isle of Ely, as being a Frontier to the rest of the country: But the King went and sate down before Leicester, and soon took it, which so alarm'd the parliament, that they instantly dispatch'd Orders to Fairfax to rise from Oxford, and seek out and fight the Kings Army, who (as he writ to his Queen) was then in a more hopeful condition than during the War. Fairfax obeyed

obeyed this Order, and Cromwel being recruited with six hundred Horse of the Association, came to join the Army then marching toward Northampton.

The General had information that the King had Quartered his Foot and Carriages upon Burrough-Hill near Daventry, as if he intended there to expect him, but it was only to tarry till the twelve hundred Horse, sent as a Convoy to the Cattel taken within Leicester and Northampton-shire, for relief of Oxford, were returned, designing afterward the reduction of Pomfret-castle in the North, and all the other places lost since Marston-Moor, and if Fairfax followed him, to have fought him with the first advantage, which he could not do so conveniently where the Parliament had their Garrisons. But Cromwel soon disappointed this project, by whose counsel Ireton was dispatch'd with a Detachment of Horse to take an account of the posture of the Kings Army, with Order that if they marched Northward, he should skirmish and employ them in the Rear, till the whole Army could arrive and ingage. The day before the Battel, the General marched to Gilsborough, five miles from Burrough-hills, from whence the Royalists, their Horse being come back from Oxford, were bending their course Northward; and the next Night the King was extreamly surprized to find Ireton give an alarm to his Quarters at Naseby, from whence, about eleven a clock, the King departed, speeding to Harborough, where Prince Rupert and the Van of the Army were, and a Council of War being summoned, it was resolved on, as being the Kings opinion, that to secure his rear, they should march no farther North, but presently give the enemy battel, depending much upon the Valour of the Foot, who were lately animated by the plunder of Leicester.

This advice was followed, though most of the Officers were for staying till the Lord Gorings Forces came

came up, but the King being much ſtronger in Horſe doubted not of ſucceſs, and the other were as ready to ingage, ſo that both agreeing in diſcord, a large Field near Naſeby was the place choſen by both parties for the Stage of this wotul Tragedy, wherein Fathers fought againſt Sons, and Brothers gave death to each other, all obligations of kindred and friendſhip being laid aſide, occaſioned by that unnatural ſpirit of diviſion, which Heaven for our crimes had ſent amongſt us. The King had Intelligence that Fairfax for fear was retreating to Northampton, but found it a miſtake, he being then imployed in marſhalling his Army in Naſeby field, and waiting for his coming, Cromwel and Whaliey commanding the right wing, and Ireton the left. The Kings front was compoſed of a gallant body of Horſe, the foot made a ſecond body, the right wing commanded by Prince Rupert and Maurice, the left wing by Sir Jacob Aſtley, and the Lord Langley commanded the Northern Brigade of Horſe, other ancient commanders who having been in the Low-countries having their ſeveral poſts, the King himſelf being Generaliſſimo. Theſe being drawn out with the reſerves, took up the whole bredth of the field: The Parliaments foot made a firm body in the midſt, commanded by Major General Skippon, ſecured by the Horſe on each ſide. Prince Rupert charged firſt with ſuch fury upon Ireton, notwithſtanding their valiant reſiſtance, that the left wing which he commanded was utterly routed, and his men put to flight, and driven upon the Kings foot, of which Ireton was wounded in the Thigh with a Halbert, and kept priſoner during the fight, and the field cleared on that ſide, the Prince perſuing them through the Town, and then fell upon the Waggons, where being repulſed, he loſt ſo much time, that Cromwel and Fairfax who had not yet ſtirr'd from their ground, but with ſhort ſpeeches and ejaculations were encouraging their men, came up,

up, and Cromwel clapping ſpurs to his Horſe, charged clear through three bodies of Langdales Brigade, and utterly routed them, never ceaſing till he had beat that whole wing of the Kings Army from their ground, without any poſſibility of rallying; ſo that having as it were raked the field before him, dividing the Horſe from the Foot, they were rendred uſeleſs to each other. In this encounter, one of the Kings commanders knowing Cromwel, advanced briskly before the head of his Troops, to exchange a ſingle bullet with him, and was with the like gallantry encountred by him, both ſides forbearing to come in till their Piſtols being diſcharged, the Kings Officer with a ſlaunting back blow of a broad ſword, happened to cut the ribbon that tyed Cromwels Murrion, and with a draw threw it off his Head, and now ready to repeat his ſtroke, Cromwels party came in and reſcued him, and one of them alighting threw up

ing, and a little diſturbed at the chance, clapt it the wrong way on his head, and ſo fought the reſt of the day, which proved highly fortunate to his ſide, though the King managed the fight with much magnanimity and expertneſs, and expoſed himſelf to ſeveral threatning dangers in the Field.

The Horſe being ſeparated from the Foot, as you heard, fled toward Leiceſter, Cromwel ſent ſome few Troops in perſuit, to prevent their rallying, and himſelf in the mean time joyning with his own foot, ſo incompaſſed the Kings Infantry, that notwithſtanding the courage they had ſhewed that day, ſo that their very enemies admired them, yet being tired and hopeleſs of relief, ſeeing death on every ſide, they laid down their Arms, and beg'd for Quarter.

This memorable Battel was fought June 14. 1645. The Parliamentarians word was, God with Us. The Royaliſts, God and Queen Mary; and the ſucceſs of it gave an abſolute and undoubted Victory to the Parliament,

Parliament, there being almoſt five thouſand priſoners carried to London, the Kings Standard, and a hundred other colours were taken, with all the Ordnance, and a very rich Booty, a great quantity of gold and ſilver, and all the ſecret Letters of the King, which were carried to London, and publickly read before a great Aſſembly of Citizens, where many Members of Parliament were preſent, and leave was given to as many as pleaſed, or knew the Kings hand, to refute them if they were counterfeit. But ſo few were ſlain in this fight, that a Reader may juſtly wonder how ſo many priſoners ſhould be taken, and ſo much wealth gotten with the loſs of ſo little blood, for on the Kings ſide ſcarce four hundred were ſlain, and on the Parliaments not an hundred, and herein particularly the Kings dammage appeared very conſiderable, that he had loſt a brave Army, lately heightned with ſucceſs by the taking of Leiceſter, and that there ſeemed no poſſibility of raiſing another, the Victors proſecuting their advantage with ſo much vigilance and impetuoſity, for marching to Leiceſter it was ſoon delivered to them, where Fairfax leaving a Garriſon, reſolved to hinder the King from recruiting himſelf, and followed him ſo cloſe, marching Weſtward, both in perſuit of him, and to raiſe the ſiege of Taunton, which had been a great while blockt up by the Lord Goring, and held out to admiration, but upon the approach of the Parliaments Army, the ſiege was raiſed to their great joy, who ſtill perſue Goring, and overtake him near Lampert, where they ingage and put them to flight, but Cromwel would not ſuffer part of the Horſe to perſue, till being all come up together, he himſelf led them on with ſuch notable conduct, that moſt of the foot were made priſoners, and almoſt all the great Guns taken. From hence he marched to *Bridgwater*, which though of conſiderable ſtrength, and defended with much courage, yet

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is ſoon taken by ſtorm, for Sir Tho. Fairfax ſits down before it, and after ſummons, aſſaults the Town very deſperately, gaining the lower part thereof, and then ſends a ſecond ſummons, telling them, 'That 'their denial wrought no other thoughts of compaſ-'ſion in him, but only to Women and Children, who 'might ſuffer by the Governours obſtinacy. Whereupon divers Ladies, Gentlewomen and Children, came out of the Town, and then a ſecond aſſault was made ſo effectually, that the Governour capitulated, and ſurrendred it, there being a thouſand Officers and Souldiers priſoners, forty four barrels of powder, fifteen hundred Arms, forty four pieces of Ordnance, and four hundred weight of match.

About this time a ſort of people armed themſelves in the Weſt, and took upon them the Name of Clubmen, declaring that they would permit no Armies to Quarter within their bounds, and were ſo hardy as to make terms with the General, as if by Club-Law they would force him out of their Country, though fluſht with Victory, imagining that with their Clubs, they were able to force their ſwords from thoſe who had ſo lately deprived ſo many gallant men of theirs. But Cromwel doubting the event of ſuch riotous proceedings, having Intelligence of the place of their aſſembling, marches toward them with a party of Horſe, though they were four thouſand ſtrong, and Incamped on the top of a Hill, with their Enſigns diſplayed, and this Motto on them:

'If you offer to plunder, and take our Cattel,
'You may be ſure we'll give you Battel.

But Cromwel reſolves to venture it, and preſently charging up the Hill, he utterly routs and puts them to flight, making four hundred priſoners, whom he carried to Sherburn, Sir Lewis Dives being Governor of the Caſtle, which was then beſieged by Fairfax, and in a ſhort time taken by ſtorm.

Briſtol was reckoned a place of Importance, as being

being the greatest and most wealthy City in all the West, wherein Prince Rupert was at that time with near five thousand Horse and Foot, and all necessary provisions. When the Parliaments Army came before it, the General sends a summons to the Prince to deliver the City, which being rejected, Cromwel and some other chief Officers advised the storming part of it, whereupon the Prince proposed to surrender, 'Upon condition every man should march 'away in the height of honour, with their Arms, 'Colours flying, Trumpets, Drums bearing, and as 'much Powder and Match as they could carry about 'them, with Baggage, Horse, Arms, ten pieces of 'Cannon, and fifty Barrels of powder. Lastly, the 'Lines and Fortifications to be slighted, and the City 'to be no more a Garrison. But these conditions being thought too favourable, they proceeded to storm it so warmly, that the Prince, though he used

[illegible] forty pieces of Cannon mounted, one hundred Barrels of powder, and Victuals in the Royal-Fort for one hundred and fifty men for three hundred and twenty days, the Castle Victualled for near half so long, the Prince had in Garrison two thousand five hundred Foot, one thousand Horse, besides above one thousand of the Trained Bands and Auxiliaries, so that the gaining this place was of great consequence to the Parliament.

After this, Cromwel marches without delay with a Detachment of four Regiments, to besiege the strong Castle of the Devizes, to the natural Fortifications whereof, Sir Charles Lloyd the Governour, had made several Ingenious additions, so that judging it almost impregnable, he sent no other return to the summons but, Win it and Wear it. Yet the fortune of Cromwel prevailed against all difficulties, and his Name brought terrour where-ever he came,

so

ſo that he quickly forced the Governour to comply, and deliver the place upon terms. Wincheſter ran the ſame Fate, after the Governour had been mortified by the battery of ſome Cannon and Mortars; where Cromwel, who was conſtantly punctual to Articles, having notice that ſome of his men had Infringed them, he cauſed one of them to be hanged for example to others, and ſent the reſt to Oxford, to the Governour Sir Tho. Glenham, that he might inflict what puniſhment upon them he pleaſed.

The next Exploit wherein our Heroe was concerned, was the reducing of *Baſing*-houſe, which ſeemed to defie all attempts that ſhould be made againſt it, being the Manſion-houſe of the Marqueſs of Wincheſter, built upon a riſing ground, and ſurrounded with a brick Rampart which was lined with Earth, and all incompaſſed with a dry Ditch: The Marqueſs was reſolved to defend it, though at firſt there was none but his own Family, and one hundred Muſqueteers from Oxford, but afterward the King ſupplied him as occaſion required. This was not the firſt time this Garriſon had been attackt without ſucceſs, at firſt the Collonels, Norton and Harvey, and afterward by Sir William Waller, with ſeven thouſand men, and though ſome termed him William the Conquerour, yet he received here ſuch rude treatment, as only incouraged the beſieged to defend it with the greater vigour, who in ſeveral gallant ſallies did him very great damage, ſo that the place ſeemed Impregnable for ſome time; but Cromwel having ſetled all matters at Wincheſter, with the late Governour Sir William Ogle, he marches next day to Baſing, and no ſooner arrived, but he immediately raiſes a ſtrong battery, that quickly made it capable of being aſſaulted: Which advantage he inſtantly perceiving, orders a ſtorm to be made from the ſeveral Poſts, which though it ſeemed full of danger, and might have ſhockt an ordinary courage, yet

Cromwel,

Cromwel, who thought no place Invincible, and that the more danger there was, the more honour would accrue from it, leads on his men with ſuch fury, that the beſieged ſoon found themſelves incapable to make any further reſiſtance, and ſo were forced to yield upon Articles. The gaining of Baſing was reckoned a great piece of ſervice to the Nation, whereby the Road was opened for Trade from London to the Weſt, which had been long obſtructed by this Garriſon. He goes from hence to Longford-houſe near Salisbury, but the Governour deſpaired of preſerving that, after Baſing had been forced to ſurrender to Cromwels victorious arms, and therefore upon the firſt ſummons delivered it up.

He then marches with the Army, commanded by Fairfax, toward the Weſt, and in December they took Tiverton, and with ſtrange ſucceſs ſtormed and took Dartmouth, and afterwards drove the Kings Armies into Cornwal, and at Torrington gave Hopton a great overthrow. In February they entred Cornwal, and obliged Prince Charles to retire from thence, and ſail to the Iſles of Scilly, and ſoon after Hoptons Forces were Disbanded and ſent away, and Pendennis-Caſtle being ſurrendred to Coll. Forteſcue, the whole County of Cornwal, and the Weſt, were by Fairfax and Cromwel reduced to the Obedience of the Parliament, and nothing remained in the North but the Garriſon of Newark, ſo that the Royaliſts hopes were very low, only they had ſome expectations from a party ſtill remaining under Sir Jacob Aſtley, but Coll. Morgan encountring him near Stow in the holds, utterly Routed him, and took himſelf and ſixteen hundred of his men priſoners, ſo that this hope ſoon vaniſh'd like the reſt; when he was ſeized, he ſpake aloud theſe words, 'You have 'done your work, and wholly vanquiſhed the Kings 'party, unleſs your own diſſentions raiſe them again.

After this, Newark, the ſtrongeſt Garriſon in the North,

North, was close besieged by Leven, Pointe and Rossiter, while Fairfax hastened to besiege Oxford it self, which was the Head Quarters. The King having now no Garrisons left but this, Banbury, Wallingford, Worcester, Ragland, and Pendennis, all which in a short time were also taken, and could only glory in this, That they had held out after Oxford. The besieged Newarkers, though the plague raged in the Town, and they began to want provisions, yet sustained themselves upon hopes of some differences between the English and Scots, for now the Scots began to complain of want of pay, of the neglect of Church-Government, and the Covenant. The Parliament answered, 'That in two years space 'they had received above two hundred thousand 'pounds for pay, besides a vast sum of money which 'had been extorted from the weeping Inhabitants 'of the Northern Counties, and that their Army had 'not answered expectation, lying idle the best time 'of the year, and if they were so precise in observa-'tion of the Covenant, why contrary thereto, had 'they put Garrisons into Newcastle, Tinmouth and 'Carlisle? Neither ought they to mention Religion, 'being unsettled, since the Parliament were consult-'ing about it, being a matter which requires time 'and mature deliberation.

From these dissentions the King expected some advantage, but yet Oxford was already block'd up by Fleetwood and Ireton, and Fairfax was daily expected to come and turn it into a close siege, therefore before this should happen, the King resolved to go out of the City, and consulting with some of his inward Councellors, it was concluded he should go to the Scots Camp, then lying before Newark; the King sent Montruel the French Ambassador before, and himself soon after, as Coll. Ashburnhams man (who had a pass from Fairfax to go out of Oxford, about some private business) with a Cloak-bag behind him,

him, escaped unknown, and came to Newark, which when the besieged Newarkers had notice of, being in great streights, they upon conditions surrendred the Town. The Scots seemed amazed at the Kings unexpected coming to them, and so signified the matter to the English Commissioners then on the place. Letters were instantly written to London and Edinburgh, and the Parliament at Westminster required the Scots to detain the King at Southwell near Newark, but contrary to this Order, they carried him to Kelham, where a greater part of their Army lay, and soon after without further Order, removed their Camp Northward, and carried him away to Newcastle with them, excusing their departure by alledging, Newark being yielded, no work was left for them, but that as the King came to them of his own accord, unexpected, so he followed their Army, neither being intreated nor forbidden by them; but they seemed to hasten their departure, by reason of a rumour that Cromwel with all his Horse was marching toward them. This action much offended the English Parliament, and they complain'd both of the Scots and the King.

In the beginning of May, General Fairfax with his whole Army came before Oxford; the City was very strong, having been fortified according to the most exact rules of Art to make it Impregnable, invironed with regular Forts, and provided with a potent Garrison of five thousand valiant Souldiers, having great stores of all manner of provisions, and the Governour Sir Tho. Glemham, a person who had sufficiently demonstrated his courage and conduct, in holding out York and Carlisle to the last extremity. The General disposing his Quarters round about the City, summoned the Governour to surrender, who returned, 'That he would send to know 'the Kings mind, and then act accordingly. This answer was not satisfactory, yet Fairfax and his Commanders

Commanders doubting it would be a tedious Siege, were put in hopes by ſome ſpies, that it could not hold out long, by reaſon of the diviſions between the Nobility and Souldiers, the firſt being for treating now, and ſo obtain honourable conditions, which they did accordingly, and the Parliament decreed, 'That the beſieged ſhould have the beſt conditions, 'rather than waſte their Army, which might be 'more uſeful elſewhere, for they deſigned to ſend 'them into Ireland, againſt the Rebels there.

Thus was Oxford ſurrendred, and the Garriſon marched out in ſight of *Fairfax's* Army, with great quiet and modeſty on both ſides: The D. of York was honourably conducted to London, where two of the Kings Children remained; thither alſo went all the Noble-men; neither were any of the beſieged denied to go to London, but the Princes Rupert and Maurice, who being commanded to go out of England, prepared for their departure. Prince Charles about this time, ſailed from Scilly with a few of his inward Counſellors to Jerſey, in order to go to his Mother in France, which the King having advice of, ſent him this ſhort Letter from Newcaſtle.

'Charles, I write to you only that you ſhould 'know what I am, and that I am in health, not to di-'rect you, at this time, in any thing for what I would 'have you do: I have already written to your Mo-'ther, to whom I would have you obedient in all 'things, except Religion, (about which I know ſhe 'will not trouble you) and go no whether without 'her or my command. Write often to me. God 'bleſs you.

Your loving Father, C. R.

Soon after the ſurrender of Oxford followed the end of this fierce War, for Worceſter, Wallingford, Pendennis and Ragland, yielded to the Victors. Peace now ſeemed to be reſtored to England, but they

had no ſecurity, the Parliament being grievouſly troubled with factions among themſelves, and divided under the Names of Presbyterians and Independants, not only in matters of Church-Government, but often in their Votes, and in tranſacting almoſt all other buſineſs, and this humour ſpread it ſelf into the City, Country, and Camp; and the Parliament doubting Coll. Maſſeys Forces might mutiny, upon that account ſent Fairfax to Disband them, being two thouſand five hundred Horſe; which was quietly done in eight days time, though they did not then receive their pay.

The Scots, as you have heard, carrying the King into the North, the parliament Voted, 'That the 'perſon of the King ſhould be diſpoſed of by the Authority of both Houſes of the parliament of Eng-'land: But the Scots denied to deliver him up, alledging, That he was no leſs King of England than Scotland, which cauſed great diſſention between the two Nations. But at length, upon paying the Scots two hundred thouſand pounds, they agreed to deliver up Berwick, Carliſle, and Newcaſtle, to the parliament of England, and the Kings perſon alſo, to the Engliſh Commiſſioners, to be carried into the South, who was received with great reſpect and honour by the Earls of *Pembroke* and Denbigh, and the other Commiſſioners, and by them waited on with much obſervance, and an honourable Guard to his palace at Holmby in Northampton-ſhire.

But the Civil Wars being ended, a diſſention more than Civil aroſe among the Conquerors, which ſtill increaſed under the Names of *Presbyterians* and Independants, and extreamly imbittered the minds of men againſt each other, one party complaining, That the Covenant was broken: The other, That it was not rightly Interpreted by them. And on both ſides were men of Reputation; and ſeveral petitions were drawn up againſt the Army, (lately ſo much admired)

admired) as maintainers of the Independent party, who then lay about Saffron-Walden in Eſſex. Yea, it was debated in parliament, whether they ſhould be Disbanded or not, which Cromwel, who ſided with the Independents, having notice of, he thereupon, with Ireton, inſinuated into the common Souldiers, That the parliament intended to Disband them without their Arrears, or elſe to ſend them into Ireland, to dye of Sickneſs or Famine, which cauſed the Souldiers to uſe contumelious ſpeeches againſt the two Houſes; and thereupon a Council of Officers was ſet up, conſiſting of two Commiſſion-Officers, and two private Souldiers out of every Regiment, to meet and conſult for the good of the Army, and to draw up and preſent all their Grievances to the General, and theſe were called Adjutators: Who having met, by the Inſtigation of Cromwel, and ſome others, that made them ſenſible of their own ſtrength, they reſolved upon ſeizing the King at Holmby-Houſe, under pretence of freeing him from that narrow reſtraint under which he was kept by the parliaments Order. To effect which, Cornet Joyce is ſent thither with five hundred Horſe, who took the King out of the parliaments Commiſſioners hands, and carried him along with them in the Army. This the General certifies in a Letter to the parliament, affirming it to be done without his conſent, and that the reaſon alledged by the Actors was, Becauſe certain perſons had deſigned to take away his Majeſty, thereby to gather ſtrength to make a new War, which they were able and ready to prove.

When this was known, an Order paſſed both Houſes of *Parliament*, and was ſent to the General; 1. 'That the King ſhould reſide at Richmond. '2. That he ſhould be attended by the ſame perſons 'he was at Holmby. 3. That Roſſiters Regiment 'ſhould Guard him. And the *Presbyterians*, who were the greater number in *Parliament*, being fur-

ther alarm'd by these proceedings, resolved to divide the Army, and send part of it to Ireland, and presently to cashiere Cromwel and his Assistants: And they publish a Declaration, forbidding the Souldiers to Petition the Parliament as being under their command: Likewise they had privately resolved to seize upon Cromwel, then in London, who having notice of it, got secretly and hastily out of Town, and with full speed rid to Tripoly-Heath, so that his Horse was all in a foam, and was received with the acclamations of the whole Army, to whom he discovered the intentions and actions of the Parliament; whereupon, they entred into an Ingagement, Not to Disband till the proposals they had drawn up for regulating all matters were answered, and then marching to New-Market, they subscribed thereto, Cromwel putting his Name first, and the rest of the Officers generally followed, so that several parchment Rolls were filled with their Names. The next day was brought from the General, and his Council of Officers, an Impeachment of eleven Members of the House of Commons, who were counted the chief of the Presbyterian party, namely, Sir W. Waller, Coll. Massey, Sir John Clothworthy, Sir Denzil Hollis, Coll. Long, Mr. Anthony Nicholas, Sir Ph. Stapleton, Mr. Glyn, Sir John Maynard, Sir William Lewis, and Coll. Edward Harley, charging them with hindring the relief of Ireland, obstructing of Justice, and acting somewhat against the Army, and the Laws of England. The Members declared themselves ready to answer, but the Army would have them secluded from their seats in Parliament, till they had brought in their answer; whereupon they withdrew themselves by consent for six months. After which the Army marched nearer to London, and came to Bedford, the King going to the Earl of Bedfords-House, near Woburn.

And now the Citizens being for the Presbyterian party

party in the Houſe, and the Independents for the Army, great diviſions happened in London, for the changing that Parliament having ordered the Militia of the City, which had been eſtabliſhed the 4th. of May, and put others better affected to the Army in their rooms, the Presbyterian party were extreamly incenſed thereat, and came two days after to the Houſe with a petition, accompanied by a multitude of Citizens and Apprentices, who coming to the door of the Commons, cried out, That they muſt grant their petition before they roſe. Whereupon the Houſe beginning to riſe, they took the Speaker, and held him in the Chair, detaining him and the reſt of the Members, till they forced another Order from them, 'That the King ſhould come to London. After which they adjourned to July 30. but then both Speakers were abſent, having withdrawn themſelves to the Army, whereupon two new Speakers were choſen, the Lord Hunſdon, and Mr. Henry Pelham, Barriſter, by whom the following Orders were made that day. '1. That the King ſhould come to 'London. 2. That the Militia of London ſhould 'have power to raiſe Forces for defence of the City. '3. They ſhould alſo have power to chooſe a General 'for thoſe Forces; and that the eleven impeached 'Members ſhould return to their ſeats. The Citizens armed with theſe Orders, preſently proceed to raiſe Forces, chooſing Maſſey their General.

In the mean time, the Lords and Commons which had left London, conſulting with the General, and chief Commanders of the Army, made an Order, 'That all Acts and Decrees that had paſſed on July '26. and ſince, ſhould be accounted null and void, 'and that they did adhere to the Declaration of the 'General and Council of the Army. It was likewiſe decreed, 'That the General with his Army ſhould 'march to London. Upon whoſe approach the Citizens, who made ſome ſemblance of oppoſition,

meeting in Common-council, and finding it impossible suddenly to raise Forces to oppose them, they sent to the General for a pacification, which by the consent of the Members of Parliament, was granted them on these conditions: '1. That they should desert the 'Parliament now sitting, and the eleven Impeached 'Members. 2. To recal their late Declaration. '3. To relinquish their present Militia. 4. To de-'liver up to the General all their Forts, and the 'Tower of London. 5. To Disband all the Forces 'they had raised. All which, not daring to deny, were instantly ratified, and so August 6. 1647. the Army marched triumphantly through London to Westminster, with the two Speakers, and the Members of *Parliament*, whom they restored to their former Seats, and the eleven secluded Members left London, some going beyond Sea, and others with passes to their Houses in the Country. Both Speakers, in the Name of the whole *Parliament*, gave thanks to the General, and made him Commander of all the Forces in England and Wales, and Constable of the Tower of London; a months pay was likewise given to the Army for a gratuity. The next day Fairfax, Cromwel, Skippon, and the other Commanders, marched from Westminster through London to the Tower, where some commands, and the Militia, were altered; and to curb the City, her Militia was divided, Westminster and Southwark having power to command their own Trained Bands. And thus was the *Presbyterian* party depressed, and all things managed according to the Inclination of the Independents and the Army.

After this Fairfax marched out of London, quartering his Souldiers in the Towns and Villages adjacent, only leaving some Regiments about White-hall and the Mewse, to guard the *Parliament*, his head Quarters being at *Putney*; and the King about the middle of August, after divers removes, was at length brought

brought to Hampton-court, where he ſeemed not at all reſtrained, but lived like a Prince in all the ſplendor of a Court, all ſorts of people being freely admitted to kiſs his hands, and wait upon him; yea, his ſervants from beyond Sea, even thoſe who had been Voted Delinquents, as Aſhburnham, Barkley, and the reſt, were permitted by the Army to have ſafe recourſe to him, which was generally wondred at. About this time a diſturbance aroſe in the Army by a party called Levellers, ſome of whom were ſeized at Ware, and the principal ſticklers ſhot to death; others Impriſoned, and all their favourers caſhier'd, twenty being diſcarded out of one Troop.

And now propoſitions were ſent to the King at Hampton-court, agreed upon by both Houſes, and with the concurrence of the Scotch Commiſſioners but the King refuſed to comply with them; for Loudon and Lanerick, newly come out of Scotland, having privately diſcours'd with the King, ſent Letters to the *Parliament*, requiring, 'That the King may come 'to London, and there perſonally treat with the '*Parliament* about the matters in controverſie: Though not long before they denied it to be juſt, that before the *King* had given ſatisfaction and ſecurity to the people, he ſhould be admitted to London, or to any perſonal Treaty with the *Parliament*, and refuſed to receive him into Scotland, leſt he might raiſe commotions there; but they alledged in their defence, That the King had been taken from Holmby againſt his will, and without the conſent of *Parliament*, and ſtill remained under the power of an Army, not in that freedom proper for treating of matters of ſo great concernment. But while the *Parliament* were framing propoſitions, they were ſuddenly ſurprized with the news that the King was ſecretly withdrawn from Hampton-court, Letters coming from Cromwel about midnight to the Speaker: For Nov. 12. whilſt the Commiſſioners of *Parliament*,

ment, and Collonel Whaley, who commanded the Guard, expected when the King would come out of his Chamber to supper, and wondred at his long stay, at last, about Nine a clock, some going in, miss'd the King, finding his Cloak, and a Letter written with his own hand to the Commissioners, to be communicated to the *Parliament*, wherein having discoursed about captivity, and the sweetness of liberty, he protested before God, 'He did not withdraw to 'disturb the publick peace, but for his safety, against 'which he understood there was a Treasonable Con-'spiracy, &c. and that if he might be heard with 'freedom, honour, and safety, he should instantly 'break through this cloud of retirement, and shew 'himself the Father of his Country.

The *Parliament* startled at his departure, sent some persons to the Sea-coasts, to prevent his going beyond Sea; and when it was reported he was concealed in London, Ordered, 'That if any man should 'closely detain the Kings person, he should be pun-'ish'd with loss of Estate and Life. But this cloud soon dissolved, Letters coming from Coll. Hammond, Governour of the Isle of Wight, that the King was come thither, and had delivered himself into his protection, and that he would dispose of him as the *Parliament* should appoint, who commending Hammond, ordered, That he should Guard the King with diligence, and wait on with respect and honour, and that all necessaries should be sent him.

The King sent a long Letter from thence to the *Parliament*, wherein he desired to come to a personal Treaty at London, which was also vehemently pressed by the Scots Commissioners: Whereupon, after a long debate, Nov. 26. they drew up four propositions in the form of Acts, to be signed by the King in the Isle of Wight, and then he should be admitted to a personal Treaty, which were, '1. To pass an 'Act for settling the Militia of the Kingdom. 2. An

'Act

'Act for calling in all Declarations, Oaths and Pro-'clamations, againſt the Parliament and their adhe-'rents. 3. For Incapacitating thoſe Lords who were 'made after the Great-Seal was carried to Oxford, 'from ſitting in the Houſe of Peers thereby. A pow-'er to be given to the two Houſes to adjourn as they 'ſhall think fit. The Commiſſioners of Scotland de-clared againſt theſe Bills, however, Dec. 24. they were preſented to the King, who underſtanding the minds of the *Scots*, and the Factions in London, ab-ſolutely refuſed to ſign them. Which denial was ſharply debated in the Houſe, and it was affirmed, 'That the King by this denial, had denied his pro-'tection to the people of England, for which only 'ſubjection is due to him: And therefore, Jan. 17. a Declaration and Votes paſſed both Houſes of *Parlia-ment*, 'That they will make no further Addreſſes to 'the King, nor any other to make application to 'him, without their Order, under penalty of High-'Treaſon: That they will receive no more Meſſages 'from him, to both or either Houſes of *Parliament*, 'or any other perſon. This was ſeconded by a Decla-ration of the General and Officers of the Army, which was preſented to the Houſe, and thanks return-ed them for their Reſolutions to adhere to the *Parlia-ment* in their proceedings concerning the King, and againſt him or any other that ſhall partake with him.

The *Parliament* likewiſe, by their Declaration, did endeavour to appeaſe the minds of the people, many of whom were extreamly diſcontented with theſe proceedings, Tumults and Inſurrections being daily feared, ſo that the *Parliament*, though victo-rious, and guarded with a conquering Army, no Forces viſibly appearing againſt them, yet were ne-ver in more danger, and every man began to foreſee Slaughter and War, as Mariners obſerve a riſing Tempeſt.

'The

'The threatning Waves in Tracts voluminous
'Boil up: The Seas by blasts uncertain blown,
'Betoken many Winds conception.

The Kings party, though conquered, had great hopes of retrieving their Cause, and the same thing seemed to be the wish of many of those called Presbyterians, out of their strong aversion to the Independents; so that the King, though set aside, and confined within the Isle of Wight, was more formidable this Summer than in any other, when he was followed by his strongest Armies. The Name of King had now a farther operation, and the pity of the vulgar gave a greater Majesty to his person: Prince Charles also by his absence, and the Name of banishment, was more desired of them, and by his Commissions, privately sent from his Father, and Commands under his Name, he was able to raise not only Tumults but Wars.

The Parliament for their security, Quartered part of the Army about Westminster, the Mewse, and other places of the City, and some Lords and Commons were chosen out of the House, and called A Committee of Safety, and sate at Derby-House, with power to suppress Tumults and Insurrections, and to raise Forces upon occasion; which were the Earls of Northumberland, Kent, Warwick and Manchester, the Lords Say, Wharton and Roberts, and thirteen of the H. of Commons, among whom was Lieutenant-General Cromwel: And it was not long e're they had occasion to make use of their Authority, for upon Sunday, April 9 1648. some Apprentices, and other loose people, playing in Moorfields, set upon a Company of the Trained Bands, and with stones beat the Captain out of the Fields, taking away his Colours, with which they marched in the head of a disorderly Rout, increasing continually

nually by the way to Weſtminſter, crying out, They were for King Charles, but by a Troop of Horſe out of the Mewſe were ſoon diſperſed; yet running back into the City, and others joining them, they remained all Night in a body, to the great terror of the Citizens, ſo that the Lord Mayor, who was for the Parliament, eſcaped privately out of his Houſe, and went to the Tower. In the morning, Fairfax ſent part of his Army into the City, who drove them into Leaden-Hall, taking ſome priſoners, and ſcattered the reſt, ſo that this Tumult was inſtantly ſuppreſs'd, for which ſervice he had the thanks of the Parliament, and ſome of the principal Citizens, and a thouſand pound gratuity to his Souldiers.

May 26. about three hundred came out of Surry to Weſtminſter, with a Petition to the Parliament, wherein they demand, 'That the King ſhould be 'preſently reſtored to his former Dignity, and come 'to Weſtminſter with honour, freedom, and ſafety, 'to treat perſonally there about all Controverſies: 'That the Army ſhould preſently be Disbanded, and 'the free people of England be governed by their 'known Laws and Statutes. Theſe Petitioners were ſo earneſt for an anſwer, that they would not ſtay till the Parliament could debate it, but ſet upon the Souldiers that guarded the Houſe; of whom, ſome they hurt, and killed one. Whereupon, ſome Horſe and Foot were ſent from the Mewſe, who gave them a feeling anſwer, killing ſome, and ſcattering the reſt, ſo that they were utterly vanquiſhed. At the ſame time the Kentiſh-men were coming with a Petition, and a formidable Army to back it, being inraged at the death of their Companions, who raiſed a Tumult at Canterbury; to prevent their arrival, Gen. Fairfax was ſent with ſeven Regiments to Black-Heath.

In the mean time ſome ſmall Inſurrections happened in Suffolk, at Stamford, and in Cornwall, but were

were ſoon ſuppreſs'd by Coll. Wait, Sir Hardreſs Waller, and others. Sir Thomas Glemham had ſeized upon Carliſle, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale upon Berwick, and fortified it, and the Royaliſts had taken the ſtrong Caſtle of Pomfret. To manage theſe Wars in the North, Coll. Lambert was left with ſome Regiments of Fairfaxes Army, but the moſt formidable danger ſeemed to be in Wales, where Poyer, Powel and Langhorn, three Parliament Collonels, had raiſed an Army of eight thouſand men, by a Commiſſion from Prince Charles, but Collonel Horton, with three thouſand ingaged them near Peterſtone, and totally routed, and put to flight their whole Army. A great ſlaughter was made, and about three thouſand priſoners taken, equal to the number of the Victors; among whom were one hundred and fifty Officers, many Colours, a great quantity of Arms, with all their Cannon, Langhorn and Powel eſcaped with Poyer into Pembrook-caſtle. Cromwel himſelf, about the beginning of May, was ſent into Wales with ſome Regiments, who coming to Chepſtow-caſtle, reſolved to beſiege it, but haſtening to Pembroke, he left Coll. Ewer at Chepſtow, who within fifteen days took that Caſtle, and killed Kemiſh, to whom the Governour had treacherouſly ſurrendred it.

May 20. Cromwel came to Pembrook, of which Collonel Poyer was Commander, who relying on the great ſtrength of the place, refuſed all conditions, being ſenſible that time was very precious with the Parliament, who were ſurrounded with ſo many difficulties at once; but Cromwel, to whom deſpair was altogether a ſtranger, prepared for the Siege, being much furthered in his work from the Sea, by the great Induſtry of Sir George Ayſcough, who continually furniſh'd him, by the aſſiſtance of a Squadron of Ships, with great Guns and Proviſions of all ſorts from Briſtol. Having taken a full ſurvey of the

ſtrength

ſtrength of the Caſtle, he reſolves to batter it with his Cannon, becauſe he had notice their Powder and other proviſions would ſoon be ſpent, and that the diviſions he heard were among them, might occaſion them to yield, and ſo ſave the loſs of his men, of whom he was very careful, ſince ſo much Work lay upon their hands: In the mean time he ſtrictly guarded the Trenches, to prevent them from coming out, which had the effect he expected; Hunger, if not breaking through ſtone Walls, yet occaſioning them to deliver up the Town and Caſtle, the Souldiers upon Quarter, but Langhorn, Poyer, Powel, and ſome others, upon mercy, which the reſt found, but Poyer was ſhot to death.

While Cromwel was acting theſe things in Wales, Fairfax, with his ſeven Regiments, marched from Black-Heath toward Rocheſter, and about Graveſend a great number were got together, and among them above twenty Knights, Eſquires and Gentlemen, of the County, with ſeveral of the Kings old Commanders, but they durſt not ingage Fairfax, though more numerous, ſome marching to Maidſtone, a few to Rocheſter, others to Dover, to beſiege that Caſtle, but were ſoon removed by Coll. Rich, and Sir Mich. Livesey. About two thouſand were got to Maidſtone, and reſolved to defend it, which they did with ſuch obſtinacy, that the valour of Fairfax and his Souldiers were never tryed ſo much before, nor a Victory got with greater danger; for after they had broke into the Town with much difficulty, they found a War in every Street, and Cannon planted againſt them, ſo that they were forced to fight for every corner of it, but at length, with the loſs of forty men, it was taken, two hundred of the Royaliſts being ſlain, and fourteen hundred made priſoners, four hundred Horſe, and two thouſand Arms taken; and it was remarkable, that at the ſame time another Army of many thouſand Kentiſh-men, coming

ming from Rocheſter to aid their Friends, yet when they came near durſt not aſſiſt them, but ſtood in ſight while Fairfax took the Town. Kent ſeemed now to be quiet, when the Lord Goring, with the remains of the Kentiſh-men, being about two thouſand, marched as far as Greenwich, ſending to ſee how the Citizens ſtood affected to the buſineſs, but while he ſtaid, expecting an anſwer, ſome Troops of the Army came in ſight, upon which Goring and all his company fled, the Horſemen perſuing took ſome Booty, and the Kentiſh-men generally went home to their own Houſes, but the Lord Goring, with about five hundred Horſe, coming to Greenwich, they got Boats, and paſſed over into Eſſex, and the Lord Capel, with Forces out of Hartford-ſhire, and Sir Charles Lucas, with a body of Horſe, joined him at Chelmsford, with ſeveral of the Kings Souldiers, and many Londoners who flock'd to them. The General followed them, croſſing the Thames at Graveſend, and at length drove them into Colcheſter, where after near three months Siege, being reduced to that extremity as to live ſeveral VVeeks upon Horſe-fleſh; deſpairing of relief, they at length yielded themſelves priſoners, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Liſle, being ſhot to death.

At this time Cromwel marches Northward, to endeavour to prevent the danger from Scotland, from whence D. Hamilton was marching with a potent Army. Lambert was ſent before to ſuppreſs Glemham and Langdale, who with their Forces being about three thouſand, retired into Cumberland and Weſtmorland, expecting to join with the Scots, which they did, and fell upon Lambert at Appleby, forcing him to retire out of the Town, but Cromwel having received all neceſſary ſupplies from the Parliament, came and joined him, and obſerved the motions of D. Hamilton, being both but eight thouſand ſix hundred men, againſt the Scots and Engliſh Army of

twenty

twenty one thousand, who were marched into England as far as Preston in Lancashire, where Cromwel resolved to fight them, his forlorn ingaging them first with two hundred Horse and four hundred Foot, and he himself leading up the main body in the best posture the place would admit, being a dirty lane, and inconvenient for Horse, where after four hours dispute, he put them to the rout, whom the Conquerours persued through Preston, and having cleared the Streets, followed them as far as Warrington, about twenty miles, killing many in the chase, and taking Lieutenant-General Baily prisoner, with the greatest part of the Scots Army, granting them only Quarter for their Lives. Three thousand Scots were slain, and ten thousand taken prisoners, with above one hundred colours, and all their Baggage. Duke Hamilton finding the service too warm, retreats over the Bridge with a good party of Horse and Foot, but Cromwel ordered his men to fall in among them pell-mell, with their swords drawn, at which desperate courage the Scots being amazed, betook themselves to flight, and the Duke with a body of Horse got to Utoxeter, where he was taken prisoner by the Lord Grey, and about three thousand Horse with him; Langdale was also taken by a Parliament Captain.

Conspiracies by land, though over the whole Kingdom, seemed not enough, but the Sea likewise revolted from the Parliament; divers of the chief Ships in the Royal Navy, in June 1648. set the Vice-Admiral Rainsborough ashoar, declaring they would serve the King and P. Charles, now coming from Holland with twenty sail of Ships, and two thousand men. The Parliaments Vice-Admiral joined with them, and the D. of York, who had made his escape from London, being also aboard. At which the Parliament were much disturbed, and sent to the E. of Warwick to command the remaining Navy, which he readily undertook, but his brother, though

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no ſouldier, by commiſſion from the Prince, aſſembles five hundred Horſe and Foot about Kingſton Heath, depending on the affections of the Citizens, having with him the D. of Buckingham, his Brother L. Francis Villiers, and the E. of Peterborough, but Sir Michael Liveſey, and others, ſoon diſperſed them. The L. Francis Villiers was ſlain, and the L. Holland flying with the remainder of his Horſe to St. Needs, was altogether ſubdued; Dalbeer, and ſome other Gentlemen ſlain, and himſelf taken priſoner. At the ſame time Roſſiter obtained a great Victory over one thouſand Horſe, who were pillaging the Country, out of Pomfret-caſtle.

About the end of Auguſt, Warwick was with a good Fleet in the River of Thames, when P. Charles with a great Navy of twenty ſtout Men of War came up the River, and commanded him to take down his Flag, and yield Obedience to him as chief Admiral by the Kings Commiſſion. Warwick refuſed, yet declined fighting in that narrow channel, expecting to be joined by the Portſmouth Fleet, commanded by Sir G. Ayſcough, which the Royaliſts reported was revolted alſo; but though moſt of the Mariners were inclined to the Prince, yet Sir George, by his prudent managery, at length confirmed them in their Obedience to the Parliament, and ſailing by P. Charles in the Night, brought all his Ships ſafe to the E. of Warwick, who now reſolved to ingage the Prince, but finding he was gone back to Holland for want of proviſions, he followed him ſoon after with the whole Fleet to Goree, upon that coaſt.

Cromwel, after he had given that great defeat to Hamilton, following his Victory, marches toward Scotland to aſſiſt Argyle and Levens, againſt the Forces of Monroe and Lanerick, and to give them an account what was become of Hamilton, but upon his approach, without effecting any thing, they withdraw their Forces back into Scotland, and Cromwel

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in his way reduced Berwick and Carliſle into the Parliaments power. Before he entred Scotland, he Rendevouz'd his Army on the banks of the Tweed, and cauſed proclamation to be made at the head of every Regiment, That no man, upon pain of death, ſhould take from the Scots either Cattel or Goods without Order. He then marches directly toward Edinburgh, to conſult about the affairs of both Kingdoms; many of the Scots Nobility and Gentry were ſent from the Committee of Eſtates to meet him, who after congratulatory Orations made, conducted him to Edenburgh, where Argyle, Leven, and other Lords, treated him and the reſt of the Engliſh commanders, with a magnificent banquet in the Caſtle. Thanks were given by the Miniſters to Cromwel, who was by them ſtiled, The preſerver of Scotland under God; many of theſe having denounced the wrath of God againſt that Army of Hamilton, which by the ſucceſs they now thought fulfilled. Such alſo was the Teſtimony of the Committee of Eſtates, written to the Engliſh Parliament, concerning Cromwel. Preſently after the Forces of Monroe and Lanerick were disbanded, and all others, except fifteen hundred Horſe and Foot, under the command of Leven, for ſettling the Kingdom. It was alſo decreed by the Committee of Eſtates, and Aſſembly of the Kirk, for preſervation of Religion, and brotherly love with the Engliſh Nation, 'That no man who had 'joined with Hamilton, in the late Invaſion of Eng-'land, ſhould be choſen for the new Parliament, 'which was then called, or into the Aſſembly of the 'Kirk, as being enemies to Religion, and both the 'Kingdoms.

A ſtrange and ſudden alteration this was, That the Engliſh Army, which but a year before were by the Kirk party of Scotland called a bundle of Sectaries, and reviled by all manner of opprobrious names, ſhould now be acknowledged by the ſame Scots to be the

the Instruments of God, and Vindicators both of the Church and Kingdom of Scotland. And this great change in the Council of Scotland, had been more to be wondred at, if the change that then happened in the English Parliament were not much more surprizing, for who can imagine that Cromwel, for vanquishing a Scotch Army, by which the Nation was delivered from plunder, and many other mischiefs, should be acknowledged there the preserver of Scotland, and that the same Victory of his against the Scots, should please the Presbyterian Scots for Religion sake, and for Religions sake displease the Presbyterians in England, for the face of the English Parliament was now suddenly changed, and the Votes that had passed the year before of making no more addresses to the King, were annulled and made void; upon which they had published a Declaration of the reason and necessity of their proceedings. New addresses are now made to the King, with more submission than ever was before resolved on; the eleven Impeached Members were restored to their seats, and the Houses debated of treating with the King upon his own security personally, at London, with honour, freedom and safety. But this was not carried, only a Treaty was Voted to be in the Isle of Wight, and that the King should chuse the place in that Island. In pursuance whereof, the E. of Middlesex, and two of the H. of Commons, were sent to the King, who answered, That he was very ready to treat of peace: Upon which, five Peers and ten Commoners were immediately chosen and sent to Newport. During this Treaty, the King found all kind of respect and observance from the Commissioners, being attended with a Royal Retinue, the D. of Richmond, Marques of Hartford, the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey, with a number of other Gentlemen of Quality who waited in his Train; his own two Chaplains, and divers of his Lawyers, to advise him in the Treaty, being likewise allowed him.

While

While these things were Transacting at Westminster, Cromwel having finished matters in Scotland prepares for his return, and Octob. 16. 1648. leaves Endenburgh, being conducted some miles on his way by Argyle, and other Scotch Noblemen, who took their leaves with mutual demonstrations of kindness, and marching toward Carlisle, when he came into Yorkshire, he was desired by the Committee to reduce the Castles of Scarborough and Pomfret in his way; the last of which was defended by Coll John Maurice with great courage, not by the strength of the place, but the valour of the Defendants: The Garrison consisted of four hundred Foot, and one hundred and thirty Horse, but all daring fellows, who daily performed some notable Exploit by their sallies, as one time by seizing Sir Arthur Ingram with a Troop of Horse, and obliging him to pay fifteen hundred pounds to obtain his liberty. Soon after they took Captain Clayton, and most of his Troop, and brought into the Castle two hundred head of cattel, and many Horses, though Sir Hen. Cholmly at that time beleaguered it to keep them in. One morning before day, forty Horse sallied out, and speeding to Doncaster, where Coll. Rainsborough, who had a commission to command the siege in chief, then Quartered, three of them went into the Town, and inquired for Coll Rainsboroughs Quarters, to which being directed, they went thither pretending to deliver him letters from Lieutenant-General Cromwel; the Collonel little suspecting their business, confidently opens the door to receive the letters, but one of them instantly stabb'd him to the heart, and though his Forces guarded the Town, yet they got back into the Castle at mid-day. To reduce this place, Cromwel having settled the Northern counties, now comes and orders the siege to be streightned, leaving a strong party under Lambert, who was come from Scotland, to prevent their ranging abroad, and in a while it was surrendred.

Cromwel

Cromwel marches up to London, and takes his place in parliament, who in his absence had recalled their Vote of Non-addresses, and were treating with the King at Newport, but while this Treaty proceeded, and some months were spent in debates, concessions and denials, another sudden alteration happened, which threw the King from the height of honour to the lowest condition, for some fearing they might be in danger if the King were restored to his Throne, contrived to take him away quite, while others were as earnest for re-advancing him, so that things were brought to no issue before Cromwels return, who had now the thanks of the House given him by the Speaker, for his prudent conduct of affairs in Scotland. At the same time several petitions were presented to the Parliament, and some to General Fairfax, That whoever had offended against the Common-wealth, no persons excepted, might be brought to speedy Justice, that the same fault may have the same punishment in the person of K. or Lord, as in the person of the poorest Commoner: That such as speak or act on the Kings behalf, till he be acquitted of shedding innocent blood, be proceeded against as Traytors, &c.

The first petition of this kind was presented to the parliament, Sept 11. the Title was, 'To the most 'Honourable the Commons of England assembled in 'Parliament, The humble petition of many thou-'sands of well-affected men in the Cities of London 'and Westminster, in the Burrough of Southwark, 'and the neighbouring Villages Inhabitants. This petition which broke the Ice, was in a month followed by several others, from divers Counties in England, and from several Regiments of the Army, as from Oxford, Leicester, from many commanders in the Army, from Iretons and Ingolsbys Regiment; the design of all being the same, 'That Justice might 'be done on the chief Authors of so much Blood-

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'ſhed in England, and that thoſe who had been rai-
'ſers of this ſecond War, and were now in the Par-
'liaments cuſtody, Hamilton, Holland, Capel, Go-
'ring, and the reſt, might be puniſh'd, and eſpeci-
'ally the King himſelf, &c. Theſe petitions were daily preſented to the Parliament during the Treaty, and by them laid aſide; but at laſt theſe deſires prevailed, eſpecially after the Remonſtrance of Fairfax, Cromwel and the General Council of Officers at St. Albans, of Nov. 11. 1648.

At the ſame time Cromwel ſent Coll. Ewer to the Iſle of Wight, to take the King out of the cuſtody of Coll. Hammond at Newport, and to confine him to Hurſt Caſtle till further Order, and this without conſent of the Parliament; and thus the Treaty was violently broken off, though the Houſe of Lords Voted, That the Kings Conceſſions were a ſufficient ground of peace, and the major part of the Commons did the ſame. But Cromwel and the Army being now come to London, reſolve to hinder the ſame, and diſcharge the Trained Bands from guarding the parliament, Collonel Prides and Riches Regiments ſupplying their rooms, by whom above forty Members of the Houſe of Commons, as they were coming to the Houſe, were ſeized and made priſoners. Nay further, they accuſe M. G. Brown, and above Ninety Members, for inviting the Scots into England the laſt Summer, and therefore deſired they might be excluded the Houſe, which being done, and the Houſe new modelled, they Voted, 'That no meſſage be 'received from the King upon pain of High Trea-'ſon; That Fairfax and the Army take care of 'the King, and that the Council of War draw up 'a charge againſt him, Dec. 13. 1648. The King is brought from Hurſt Caſtle to Windſor, and the Commons declare the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance to be void, and that it is Treaſon

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for the King to levy War against the Common-wealth, but the Lords deny that the King can commit any Treason against the Common-wealth, and reject the Ordinance for his Tryal by a new Tribunal, which they had erected to consist of one hundred and fifty Commissioners, six whereof were of the Lords House, the rest Officers of the Army, and some few Citizens. And the Commons further declare, 'That the people, 'under God, are the original of all just power, and 'that the Commons of England being the peoples 'Representative, have the supream Authority, and 'what they Enact has the force of a Law, though 'the House of Lords do not consent thereto. Upon these and several other new political principles, they proceed to Try, Judge, Condemn and Execute the King, before his own palace-gate at White-Hall, Jan. 30. 1648.

But having already published a Book, called, 'The 'Wars of England, Scotland and Ireland, wherein 'is an exact relation of the Kings Tryal, with the 'Reasons he would have offered against the pretend-'ed Jurisdiction of their Court of Justice, and his 'last speech at the time of his suffering; I shall refer the Reader to that, and wholly omit it here.

The fatal blow being given, the remainder of the House of Commons, and the Army, made it evident, that they were not only for cutting off the King, but Kingship it self, and thereupon the House Voted, 'That Kingly Government is unnecessary bur-'densome and dangerous, and that whereas several 'pretences might be made to the Crown, that any 'person who should proclaim Charles Stewart, Son of 'the late King, or any other, King of England, 'should suffer as in case of High Treason. And soon after the House of Lords was likewise Voted useless and dangerous, at which the Lords were so highly Incensed, that a Declaration was suddenly published in the Name of all the Peers and Barons of England,

England, againſt the proceedings of the Commons, and in defiance of all Votes, Acts and Orders to the contrary, Charles the ſecond was proclaimed King, in the Name of all the Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty of the Kingdom; but they ſtill proceed, aſſuming new Enſigns of Soveraignty, and cancelling the old, cauſing all Writs, Commiſſions, &c. to iſſue out under a new ſtyle and title, that is, The Keepers of the Liberties of England by the authority of parliament, cauſing the old Great Seal to be broken, and a new one made with this Inſcription, In the fifth year of freedom, by Gods bleſſing reſtored. And ſoon after they pulled down the Kings Arms in all places, and his Statue at Guild Hall, and the Royal Exchange. A Council of State was conſtituted of forty, and Bradſhaw made preſident, and the Council of Adjutators of the Army, who had been ſo Inſtrumental in the late Revolutions, was now diſſolved, who ſoon after petitioned the Lord Fairfax, but thoſe that ſubſcribed it, were by a Council of War Ordered to ride with their faces to the Horſes Tails before their Regiments, with their crimes on their breaſts, to have their ſwords broken over their heads, and to be caſhier'd the army, which much provoked their fellow ſouldiers, ſo that a while after, the Army Rendevouzing at Ware, ſeveral Regiments, in perſuance of the former petition (wherein they complain of erecting Illegal Courts of Juſtice, and trying the free people of England by Martial Law, with divers other grievances) wore white colours in their Hats, to diſtinguiſh themſelves; among whom was Cromwels own Regiment of Horſe, who having notice of it, ordered two other Regiments, from remote Quarters to be there, who knew nothing of the Intrigue, and being all drawn up in Battalia, Cromwel with a frowning countenance rides round, and ſuddenly commands thoſe two Regiments to ſurround a Regiment of Foot, and then calls four men

men by their Names out of the body, and with his own hands put them in cuſtody of the Marſhal, inſtantly ſummoning a Council of War, while their adherents ſecretly put their white colours in their pockets, and were aſtoniſhed at the action: Theſe four were tryed and found guilty, but had the favour to caſt lots for their lives, whereby the two principal Mutineers eſcaped, and the two ignorant fellows were ſhot to death upon the place, in the view of the whole Army. Theſe now had the Name of Levellers given them, and one Lockier was afterward ſhot to death for promoting a paper, called, The Ingagement and Agreement of the people, &c. in St. Pauls Church-yard, and his Funeral was attended by above one thouſand of the Lilburnian Faction, all wearing black and Sea-green Ribbons, the Army being now in a violent ferment, and even ready to deſtroy one another, which humour was cheriſhed by John Lilburn, not without incouragement from the Royal party, who from their diviſions hoped to reap advantage.

In perſuance hereof, Collonel Scroops Regiment of Horſe diſmiſſed their Officers at Salisbury, and with colours flying marched to join Harriſons, Iretons and Skippons Regiments, who by the contrivance of the Agitators, were all ingaged in the ſame deſigns. This deſection ſeeming of very dangerous conſequence, Gen. Fairfax and Cromwel, with his own Regiment, marched to Alton, and had advice the Mutineers were gone to Abington, after whom Cromwel made ſuch haſte, that in one day he marched forty miles, and having met with them, he politickly propoſed a Treaty before Harriſons Regiment ſhould join them, wherein all parties ſhould receive ſatisfaction, and that neither of them ſhould keep at ten miles diſtance; upon which, the Levellers went to Burford, and being oppoſed by the Souldiery at New-bridge, to prevent Quarrels they went a little lower,

lower, not doubting but they ſhould all join upon Treaty, and then put moſt of their Horſes to graſs, they being in all above nine hundred, conſiſting of twelve Troops entire, of the beſt in the Army, and leaving a guard of about ſixty men, ſome of their companions, who were brought over to Cromwel, giving Intelligence of their poſture, Coll. Reynolds, about midnight, ruſht into their Quarters, they little expecting ſuch rough treatment, and ſeizing the Guards, took the greateſt part of the reſt either aſleep or drinking, together with nine hundred Horſe, and four hundred priſoners, whereof Thompſon, and two more, only were Executed, Cornet Don declaring ſuch ſorrow, that he was reprieved at the place of Execution, which their fellows beheld from the Leads of the Church, and were told, That every tenth man of them ſhould die, but Cromwel propoſed the pardoning of them, which was agreed to, and they ſent to their own Houſes. This proved the utter ſuppreſſion of that Faction, and rendred the Army wholly at the devotion of Cromwel.

About this time another illegal High Court of Juſtice was erected, wherein Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, Lord Capel, and Lord Goring, were brought to their Trial, the three firſt were condemned and beheaded at the Palace-yard in Weſtminſter, and a proclamation was publiſhed, declaring the Kingdom of England to be a free State, and Alderman Reynoldſon was commanded to proclaim it in the City, which he refuſing, was committed to the Tower, and a new Lord Mayor was choſen by a common Hall, who attended with ſeveral other Aldermen of the ſame temper, readily proclaimed the Edicts of this new Republick in ſeveral places in the City.

England being thus ſubjected to the power of the Houſe of Commons and the Army, and *Scotland* not yet ripe for Invaſion, and the Nation full of Soul-

diers, who having for ſo long a time led a Military life, could hardly be reduced to their former Imployments: Our new States-men, to prevent any ill humours that might gather among them, reſolved to make them ſerviceable to their Country in the reduction of Ireland, all that Kingdom, except Dublin and London-derry, being in poſſeſſion of the Iriſh, which neither were able to hold out without ſpeedy aſſiſtance from England. This Rebellion, the moſt barbarous and bloody that ever happened upon earth, acted by Devils in humane ſhape, rather than men, butchering two hundred thouſand proteſtants in eight weeks ſpace, without the leaſt offence or provocation given, or without ſparing of age or ſex, was perpetrated Oct. 23. 1641. and though contrived ſo ſecretly, and acted ſo furiouſly, yet was Dublin wonderfully preſerved to be a refuge to thoſe poor proteſtants who eſcaped the rage of their bloody perſecutors. Many of them fled to England, but found little relief, for here all things ſeemed to forebode the re-acting the ſame Tragedy, yet in the midſt of the differences between the King and parliament, it was agreed to ſend ſome Regiments thither, if poſſible, to hinder the progreſs of thoſe Aſſaſſines; but this relief was ſo ſmall that it had no effect, for the King finding the parliament prevail againſt him, recalled thoſe Troops from Ireland, many of the Rebels coming along with them to his aſſiſtance, ſo that this Kingdom lay more expoſed to theſe bloody Wolves than ever, and thus they continued for ſome years.

But this new ſtate having renounced Monarchy and Epiſcopacy, reſolve now to uſe the ſame Inſtruments to recover Ireland, and to that end they ordered an Army to be ſent thither. The Marqueſs of Ormond was made Lord-Lieutenant by the late King, and the Rebels had made a confederacy among themſelves, and upon condition to have the free Exerciſe

ercise of their Religion, and divers other ample priviledges and advantages, which the necessity of affairs obliged him to yield to, they joined their Forces to his, being also assisted by a considerable number of others, raised by the Earls of Castlehaven, Clanrickand, and the Lord Inchiquin, so that they were the greatest united strength in that Kingdom; but the confederates having broken their Articles with the Lieutenant, and being ready to besiege Dublin, which he was not able to defend, rather than it should fall into the hands of the Irish papists, he surrendred it to Collonel Jones for the parliament, and came over to the King, who was then carried from one place to another by the Army, and from thence he went over to Prince Charles then at Paris. But the Confederates, surprized at the great preparations made against them in England, sent Letters to the Prince, humbly intreating him to send back the Marquess of Ormond, with an absolute promise to submit entirely to the Kings Authority, and to obey his Lieutenant. At their request, he returned into Ireland about a year before Cromwel came over, and with their united Forces they had reduced the whole Country, except London-derry, commanded by Sir Charles Coot, and Dublin, the principal City, wherein was Collonel Jones with no great strength, and who was very jealous of the fidelity of his own men, that often deserted and went over to the other party.

The Irish confederates, with an Army of twenty two thousand men, lay under the very Walls of Dublin, and sent divers threatning summons into it, requiring a speedy surrender, but they had no effect upon the valiant Governour Jones, who yet not insensible of the great danger he was in, sent many earnest Messages to the parliament of England to aid him with all speed, with Men and Ammunition, or else all would be quickly lost, and

they knowing the difficulties of his condition, haſten their aſſiſtance to him, gave order for ſending thither Iretons, Scroops, Hortons, and Lamberts Regiments of Horſe, with Hewſons, Deans, Ewers, and Cooks Regiments of Foot, and five Troops of Dragoons, all old tried Souldiers, that feared no Enemy, and led by victorious commanders, with ſome other Regiments new liſted, to make a number ſufficient to effect the buſineſs. Nothing was now wanting but a General to command this gallant Army, which the parliament being ſenſible of Cromwels conduct and fitneſs, deſired him to accept, which he readily did, declaring at the ſame time, 'That he did not doubt but God would uſe 'him as an Inſtrument to execute his vengeance up-'on the bloody Iriſh; with which anſwer the parliament were ſo pleaſed, that inſtantly they give him a commiſſion to be General of all their Forces, and Lord Governour both in the Civil and Military affairs of Ireland, and Collonel Jones was made Lieutenant-General of the Horſe. After which, they march to their Rendevouz at Milford in Wales, and July 10. 1649. Cromwel ſet forward from London in a Coach and ſix Horſes, attended with many of the Houſe of commons, council of State, and principal Officers of the Army, with a Life-Guard of fourſcore who had been lately commanders, very gallantly accoutred. In this ſtate he march'd to Brainford, where theſe Gentlemen took their leaves, with wiſhes for his happy ſucceſs; from thence he rides poſt to Briſtol, to put his men and Train of Artillery into the Tranſport-ſhips, and afterwards goes into Wales, having ſent Reynolds Regiment of Horſe, and Venables, and Monks Regiments of Foot before from Cheſter, who with a fair wind ſoon arrived at Dublin, to the great joy of the Inhabitants, being about three thouſand in all, who were very careful to recover them from the fatigues

tigues of the Sea, in hopes by their means to recover their Liberties.

And in this they found themſelves not miſtaken, for Collonel Jones, much animated with theſe recruits, reſolved to attack the beſiegers with the firſt opportunity, and accordingly, Aug. 2 when the Iriſh, with a ſtrong party of Horſe and Foot, marched with much aſſurance to Baggot-field, a little way Eaſtward from the city, toward the Sea, from whence they deſigned to run their Trenches towards the Works of the city, to prevent the landing any more ſupplies from England, the beſieged found a neceſſity to prevent them, and with twelve hundred Horſe, and four thouſand Foot, fell upon the Enemies new Works, and rout their Horſe at the firſt encounter, moſt of the Foot being alſo either kill'd or ſlain, conſiſting of fifteen hundred, beſides their Horſe, which ſo incouraged the Engliſh, that they purſued their victory to Rathunines, where the Marqueſs of Ormond with his whole Army of nineteen thouſand men were Incamped, who hearing of it, wiſhed they would come, that he might have ſome ſport with them; he ſoon had his wiſh, but the ſport was ſomewhat rude, for in a ſhort time his Army was utterly put to the rout, four thouſand being ſlain upon the ſpot and in the purſuit; and two thouſand five hundred and ſeventeen priſoners, moſt perſons of Quality, with the Marqueſſes own brother, all their Cannon and Ammunition, with a wealthy Camp, became the reward of the conquering Souldiers, who made themſelves Gentlemen with the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed. It is remarkable, that not above twenty of the Engliſh were ſlain in this great action. The Marqueſs perceiving all was loſt, fled with a conſiderable party to Kilkenny, and from thence to Drogheda, whither Collonel Jones, with ſome Horſe, was marched with all ſpeed, in hopes that the news of this defeat

might cause them to surrender, but when he heard that Ormond, with three hundred Horse, was come to re-inforce it, he went back, while the Marquess fortifies Dundalk, Trim, and some other places adjacent to Tredagh, hoping to preserve what he had by the strength of his Troops, and to have an Army of Foot ready before Cromwels arrival: But he having Intelligence of this great Victory, being then at Milford-Haven in Wales, he instantly sailed thence with the Van of his Army in thirty two Transport-ships, and Ireton with the main body in forty two more; Hugh Peters with about twenty sail following them, and having a fair wind, they all soon arrived at Dublin, and were received with all signs of joy and satisfaction, and especially the new Lord Governour Cromwel, whom the people crowded to behold, and who observing their zeal and kindness, putting off his Hat, he spake to them to this effect, 'That 'as God had brought him thither in safety, so he 'doubted not, but by the divine assistance, to re-'store them to all their just Rights, Liberties and 'Properties, and that all those whose hearts and af-'fections were real for carrying on the great work, 'against the barbarous and blood-thirsty Irish and 'their adherents and confederates, and that were 'for propagating the Gospel of Christ, the esta-'blishing of truth and peace, and restoring this 'bleeding Nation to its former happiness and tran-'quility, should find favour and protection from the 'Parliament of England and himself, and should 'likewise receive such endowments and gratuities as 'were suitable to their merits. This speech was received with the approbation and acclamations of the people, many of whom declared, That they would live and dye with him.

The Army being all landed and refreshed, Cromwel publishes a proclamation against swearing, curting, and drunkenness, under the most severe penal-

ties,

ties, and having ſettled matters in Dublin, he muſters his Army, which then conſiſted of fifteen thouſand Horſe and Foot well accoutred, out of whom he made a detachment of about ten thouſand, with whom, and a fine Train of Artillery, Ammunition and proviſions, he marches to Drogheda, commanded by Sir Arthur Aſhton, formerly Governour of Reading and Oxford, and an expert and valiant ſouldier, the Garriſon conſiſting in about three thouſand Horſe and Foot, moſt Engliſh. After ſummoning the Town, which was ſlighted, Cromwel prepares all neceſſaries to beſiege it, Sir G. Ayſcough and his ſquadron in the mean time blocking it up by Sea, and the white flag was taken down, the red denouncing blood and deſtruction being diſplayed in its ſtead, which yet did not much diſcourage the beſieged, who expected relief from Ormond, and had likewiſe abſolutely determined among themſelves to conquer or dye, which they did quickly after; for Cromwel without making Trenches or Ditches, raiſed a ſtrong battery of Cannon againſt it, which ſoon beat down a Church-ſteepie and a Tower, on the South of the Town, and upon throwing two or three hundred Balls more, the corner Tower between the South-eaſt Wall was levelled, and ſuch a breach made, that three Regiments of Foot entred, it not being large enough for the Horſe, but met with ſuch furious oppoſition from the beſieged, that they forced them back faſter than they came on, which Cromwel obſerving from the battery, he with a freſh ſupply of Collonel Ewers Foot, enters in perſon into the Town, whoſe preſence ſo incouraged the ſouldiers, that nothing was able to ſtand before them, ſo that having ſecured the Town, to revenge their late repulſe, they cut off all they met with, yet Aſhtons ſouldiers deſperately oppoſed them at every corner, and when not able to defend the ſtreets, retreated to the Churches-ſteeples, and other ſecurities, but the

aſſailants perſued them with utmoſt rage, and with Gun-powder blew up an hundred of them who were got into St. Peters ſteeple, only one eſcaping, who by the fall broke his leg, and had Quarter given him. Others refuſed to yield upon ſummons, and were thereupon kept ſo long from Victuals, that they were forced to ſurrender; after which, moſt of the Officers, with every tenth ſouldier, was put to the Sword, and the reſt ſent to Barbadoes, Sir Arthur Aſhton being ſlain among the reſt, Cromwel by theſe ſevere executions deſigning to terrify other places from making any oppoſition, which had ſuch effect, that in a ſhort time he wholly conquered the Kingdom. And thus was this ſtrong Garriſon reduced and plundered in ſeven days, which the Iriſh were three years e're they could take.

Dundalk and Trim expecting no better Quarter, the Souldiers deſerted them with ſuch precipitation, that they left all their cannon behind: In the laſt, fixed upon their carriages; and the Engliſh revolted ſo faſt to the conqueror, that Ormonds Forces increaſed very little, ſo that he durſt not ingage Cromwel, but endeavoured to hinder them from having proviſions. Upon which, the General reſolved to march Weſtward, and aſſault Wexford, putting a Garriſon into Killingkerrick near Dublin, which had been deſerted by the Enemy, together with Arkloe-caſtle, one of the ſeats of the Family of Ormond, and ſeveral other ſmall places which ſurrendred to him; at length he came before Wexford, and ſummoned it, but the Governour Collonel Synnot politickly treated about terms, till he was re-inforced with five hundred Foot, under the Earl of Caſtlehaven, and then ſeem'd to defie any attack: Whereupon, Cromwel preſently plants a battery againſt the caſtle at the South-eaſt end of the Town, as being of great conſequence to the gaining it, and had not plaid long upon it, before the Governour ſurrenders it, of

which

which the ſouldiers having poſſeſſion; and ſhewing themſelves to the Town, affrighted them from the Walls, which they ſoon perceiving, in an inſtant ſcaled the Walls without much reſiſtance, and entring into the Town, cut off all that were in Arms, till they came to the Market-place, where the enemy made a ſtand, and fought it out to the laſt, but at length were ſubdued, and all in Arms put to the Sword.

This Sea-port being taken, which was convenient for ſupplies, the Victors march to Roſs, another Sea Town, conſiderable for ſtrength and trade, and ſituate on the River Barrow, where a Ship of ſeven or eight hundred Tun might ride by the Wall; the Lords of Ormond, Caſtlehaven and Ards were there in perſon, having brought fifteen hundred men in Boats to re-inforce it, in ſight of the Engliſh, who could not prevent it: Cromwel ſummons the Governour M. General Twaſt to a rendition, by aſſuring him, 'That ſince his coming into Ireland, he 'ever avoided the effuſion of Blood, having been 'before no place where he did not firſt ſend them 'ſuch Terms as might have preſerved them, and 'that upon the ſame account he required him to 'ſurrender the Town to the parliament of England. He received no return, till a battery of ſix or ſeven great cannon, which played furiouſly upon the Town, mollified the Governour, ſo that to prevent the danger other places had incurred, he delivered it up upon condition to march away with bag and baggage to Kilkenny, which fifteen hundred of them did, but ſix hundred being Engliſh, joined with Cromwel. At which time Bandon-bridge, Youghal, Cork, Kinſale, and other Garriſons, freely declared for the parliament; and in the North Sir Charles Coot, and Collonel Venables, ſucceeded as well, and ſo did L. Broghill, and Collonel Hewſon in other parts.

Cromwel having taken Ross, by a bridge of boats over the River marched his men to besiege Dungannon, a strong Fort commanded by Coll. Wogan, but having little hope of reducing it quickly, they rise and march to Kilkenny, where the Marquess of Ormond and L. Inchiqueen declare they would fight him, being much stronger than Cromwel, yet upon his approach retreated without action; whereupon Enisteoge and Carrick were taken without loss of a man, and the General marches to Waterford (taking Passage-Fort by the way) hoping to reduce it before Winter, but it being December, and very wet, the Souldiers were put into Winter-Quarters till the Spring. During which, the Irish attempted to regain Passage Fort, by a party from Waterford, but Collonel Zankey meeting them, put them to the rout, killing many, and making three hundred and fifty prisoners. At this time Lieutenant General Jones dyed of a violent Fever at Dungannon, and though it were Winter, yet Cromwel visited all the Garrisons in Munster, and received great Recruits from England, many of his Souldiers and Officers dying by sickness, and put a new Mayor into Kinsale, the former being an Irish papist. The latter end of February, Cromwel again marches three thousand of his men out of Youghall to enlarge their Quarters, and takes in Kilkenny-Castle near Lismore, with Cloghen-house, and Roghil-castle, and forcing the River Tower with much danger, comes to Featherd, where one Butler was Governour of the Garrison, and about ten at Night summons the Town with a Trumpet, which was disregarded at first, but fearing a storm, it was surrendred upon condition they should march out with their Arms. From hence, after being refreshed, they march to Callyre, about six miles off Kilkenny, which had three Castles in the Town, and were storm'd and taken one after another, and all in arms put to the sword, which so affrighted

affrighted them that defended a Houſe near the Town, that they deſired liberty to go to Kilkenny, which was granted. The ſouldiers, well furniſh'd with proviſions here, returned to Feathered, taking the caſtles of Knoctover and Bullyward by the way, Kiltermon, Artermon, Cober, and Dundrum, places of good ſtrength, ſoon after running the ſame fate; (in taking of the laſt of which, Coll. Zanchey was ſhot through the hand) ſo that there remained nothing unconquered but Kilkenny, Galloway, Clonmell, Waterford and Lymerick.

Theſe were places of conſiderable ſtrength, but Cromwel reſolves to attack Kilkenny firſt, and having ſent for more Forces, he came to the Town of Govan, which was populous and fortified with a ſtrong caſtle, but the Governour refuſing to obey his ſummons, was forced to ſurrender upon hard Terms, the ſouldiers to have their Lives, and the Officers to be at diſcretion: Hammond the Governour, his Major, and all the other Commiſſion-Officers, were ſhot to death, and the popiſh chaplain hanged. Cromwel next proceeds to the ſiege of Kilkenny, which was full of Officers and Souldiers from other places, and the Governour Sir Walter Butler refuſing to ſurrender, the Lord Governour cauſed the cannon to play, which had not thrown one hundred ſhot e're a breach was made, and Collonel Ewers with a thouſand Foot, though at firſt repulſed, gained the Iriſh Town, and the Suburbs on the other ſide the River, which cauſed the Governour to Treat upon Terms, ſince he could not hope for relief; and the Garriſon in Cautnell-caſtle, whom he had ſent to aſſiſt him, deſired paſſes of Cromwel to go beyond Sea, ſo that the capitulation was quickly finiſhed, and that conſiderable City of Kilkenny, which had been the ſeat of the ſupream council, was reduced in ſix days time.

The Marqueſs of Ormond, and other chief commanders,

manders, obſerving the unſucceſsfulneſs of their deſigns, conſulted with the Gentlemen of Weſtmeath at Baltemore, how to manage their affairs with more advantage for the future, but finding their own Inability, ſome were for an accommodation with the Engliſh, but others doubting whether they might obtain pardon or good terms, it was concluded to do the greateſt miſchief they could to the Engliſh in their Quarters, till they had opportunity to eſcape out of the country.

Cromwel after this beſieges Clonmell, a ſtrong Garriſon, wherein were one hundred and twenty Horſe, and two thouſand Foot: During which, coll. Reynolds and Hewſon beſiege Trim, and the Lord Broghill defeats the Biſhop of Roſs, who with five thouſand deſigned to relieve Clonmell, killing ſeven hundred, taking twenty Officers, and the Biſhop himſelf, with the Standard of the church of Munſter, and carrying him to a caſtle defended by the Biſhops Forces, hangs him before the Walls in their ſight, which ſo terrified them that they ſoon ſurrendred. Theſe ſucceſſes incouraged the beſiegers of Clonmell, wherein were many gallant ſouldiers and commanders, and great unanimity; but Cromwel to loſe no more time, preſently batters it with his cannon, which opened a breach whereat the ſouldiers enter, but were repulſed with the utmoſt fury, ſo that the ſucceſs was doubtful for four hours, and a great carnage made, till at length the Iriſh are forced to quit the place, and betake themſelves to flight, whom the victorious ſouldiers perſued with revengeful minds, and made a dreadful ſlaughter. Thus was this conſiderable place reduced, though with greater loſs than ordinary to the Engliſh, wherein they found the ſtouteſt enemy they ever met in Ireland.

Cromwel having thus in ten months time, performed more than any Prince before was able to do in

ten years, in ſubduing an obſtinate bloody enemy that deſpaired of pardon, and therefore fought with the greater animoſity; and there now remaining unreduced only Lymerick, Waterford, and ſome few other inconſiderable Garriſons, to which ſervice Ireton was appointed, whom the Lord Governour made Lord Deputy. He takes his leave of Ireland, and after a ſtormy paſſage lands at Briſtol, where he was received with acclamations, and the diſcharging of the cannon, and haſtens from thence to London, being met at Hounſlow by General Fairfax, ſeveral Members of parliament, and Officers of the Army, with multitudes of ſpectators, who came to ſee him of whom they had heard ſuch great matters; where after mutual ſalutations and congratulations he proceeds, and is ſaluted near Hyde-park with ſome Field-peces, and Volleys of ſmall ſhot, by Collonel Barkſteads Regiment, drawn up in the High-way for that purpoſe, and after conducted to the Cock-pit near St. James's, prepared for his reception, where he is viſited by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, and other perſons of Quality, all expreſſing the ſence of their obligations. Soon after he took his place in parliament, and received the thanks of the Houſe from the Speaker, and then gave them a full account of the preſent condition of Ireland.

At this time Virginia, and the Caribbee Iſlands, revolt from the parliament, and cry up the Monarchy and Liturgy, who thereupon prohibit all Nations to Trade with them, and in a few months they are wholly ſubdued by a Fleet ſent thither under *Sir G.* Ayſcough. Prince Rupert infeſts the Engliſh Coaſts from Scilly, Jerſey, Ireland and France, with the States revolted Ships, to the great loſs of the Merchants, whereupon a Fleet well equipt is ſet forth againſt him, who block him up in Kinſale, which Town being taken by Cromwel, they were forced to haſten away, leaving three Ships behind, and ſailed

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to Lisbon, where they were protected by the King of Portugal, which caused a difference between that King and the English Republick. About the same time, that is, May 3. 1649. Dr. Dorislaus, who drew up the charge against King Charles I. being sent as an Envoy to the States of Holland, was treacherously murdered at the Hague by persons in disguise that broke into his Lodgings, and afterward made their escape. And not long after, Mr. Anthony Ascham, the English Agent in Spain, was stabb'd in his Inn in his way to Madrid, and the murderers taking sanctuary in a church, the King of Spain, by all his authority, could not bring them to Justice.

But the greatest danger to this new Commonwealth, though victorious in Ireland, seemed to be from Scotland, for King Charles II. being in the Isle of Jersey, and having notice of the great factions and differences in that Kingdom, between the Covenanters and the Royalists, he gives a commission to the Marquess of Montross (who in the year 1645. was so successful for a time, that the whole Kingdom of Scotland may be said to have been won and lost in one month) by which commission he was to raise Forces in Holland, and other parts, wherewith, if possible, to abate the power of the Covenanters, so that the King might be able to treat with them upon better terms. He accordingly, in a short time, sends some Forces into the Isles of Orkney, and a few more under Sir James Mongomery, to the North of Scotland. These the Committee of Estates resolve to oppose, though raised for the Kings service, and send propositions to him to Jersey, which being granted, they would enter into a Treaty to restore him to that Kingdom; the substance whereof were, 'That he would sign the 'solemn league and covenant, and oblige all per-'sons to take it: To confirm all Acts of parliament 'in the two last Sessions, and to have no Negative

'voice

'voice in their parliament, and would appoint some 'place about Holland to treat in. The King consented, and promiſed in the word of a Prince, to perform them, and Breda, a Town in Holland, belonging to the Prince of Orange, was the place appointed, where the Scots Commiſſioners meet him, and the Treaty in a ſhort time was fully concluded, wherein one Article was, 'That the 'Marqueſs of Montroſs, and his adherents, be pro-'hibited acceſs into that Kingdom. During this Treaty, Montroſs being commiſſioned by the King, fearing he ſhould have an expreſs command to deſiſt, and himſelf be baniſh'd his country, landed as you heard at Orkney, and in the North, with ſome inconſiderable ſupplies of men and money, againſt whom the parliament, then ſitting, ſend an Army of ſeven thouſand Foot, and three Troops of Horſe, who utterly defeat his Forces, which were only twelve hundred, of whom two hundred were ſlain, and all the reſt taken except one hundred, who made their eſcape; and Montroſs himſelf, who being three or four days in the open Fields without meat or drink, with only one man, diſcovered himſelf to the L. Aſton. But the promiſed reward, or fear of concealing him, cauſed this Lord to ſend him to Edenburgh and he was ſoon after condemned and hanged upon a Gallows thirty foot from the ground, and a few days after Sir John Urrey, Sir Francis Hay, Collonel Sybald, and Collonel Spotſwood, were beheaded for the ſame cauſe, the laſt at his death confeſſing he was an actor in the death of Dr. Dorillaus. The King was ſomewhat ſtartled at theſe proceedings, but the Scots Commiſſioners deſired him not to ſtumble at theſe matters, ſince they were all deſigned to promote his Intereſts; ſo that finding it could not be redreſſed, he was forced to conceal his reſentments, and the Treaty being finiſhed, the King prepared for his Voyage to Scotland.

The

The parliament of England having exact Intelligence of all these proceedings, it was debated whether the War which was inevitable between them and the Scots, should be Offensive or Defensive; at length, being sensible what desolations they brought along with them when they came in as Friends, and afterwards as Enemies in Duke Hamiltons Invasion, it was concluded to make Scotland the seat of the War, and accordingly they Order the Army to march Northward, but General Fairfax, as well as some others, being dissatisfied about the obligation of the National Covenant entred into between both Kingdoms, which he conceived would not permit us to make War on Scotland, desired to be excused, and delivered up his commission, which at first was a little startling, but the parliament soon found another General, of whose valour and conduct they had large experience, which was Cromwel, who accepted of the charge, and had a commission to be General of all the Forces that now were, or hereafter should be raised by the Common-wealth of England, and all commissions formerly granted to Sir Tho. Fairfax were made void.

June 28. 1650. Cromwel with his Army marched toward Scotland, and was received at York by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen with great respect: The report of his coming, surprized the Committee of Estates, who sent a Letter to the Parliament, 'That 'they admired the English should advance toward 'them, and that many of their Ships were seized 'contrary to the Act of pacification, which allowed 'three months warning, and that the Forces they 'had raised, were only in their own defence, de'siring to know whether those of the English were 'designed to guard their own borders, or to invade 'Scotland. The parliament by their Declaration declare the reasons of their proceeding, and among others, 'That the Scots endeavour to seduce the

'people

'people of the Common-wealth of England from 'their affection and duty to the parliament, and to 'promote the Intereſt of the late King under pre- 'tence of the Covenant, and though they could 'claim no authority or dominion over us, yet in 'Scotland they proclaimed Charles Stewart to be 'King of England and Ireland, and ſince that pro- 'miſed to aſſiſt him againſt the Common-wealth; 'and had declared againſt the Engliſh parliament 'and Army, ranking them with malignants and pa- 'piſts. Theſe with many others, were ſuch into- 'lerable provocations, and no ſatisfaction being to 'be had but by the ſword, the parliament reſolve to 'vindicate the Nations honour, and to ſecure it 'from the like Inſolencies for the future.

The Army likewiſe publiſh a Declaration, wherein taking notice of the practices of ſome in that Kingdom, who endeavour by unjuſt reproaches and falſe ſlanders, to make the Army odious, and render them rather monſters than men, they to clear themſelves, deſire them to remember what their behaviour was when they were there before, or what wrong or injury was then done either to the perſons, Goods or Houſes of any, and therefore they had no reaſon by falſe reports to affright the people from their Habitations: Further, aſſuring all perſons who were not active againſt the parliament, that they ſhould not have the leaſt injury done them, either in Body or Goods, but upon complaint ſhould have preſent redreſs, and that they might ſecurely continue in their Habitations.

Copies of theſe Declarations were given to the country people at Berwick-market, and others ſent into Scotland, which afterward had good effect. After which Cromwel marches from York to North-Allerton, and thence to New-caſtle, where he was nobly treated by Sir Arthur Haſlerig the Governor, and after imploring the bleſſing of Heaven, and having

having provided for future ſupplies, he poſts to Berwick, and July 20. 1650. Rendevouzed his Army upon Hagerſtone-moor, four miles from thence, where appeared a gallant body of Horſe of five thouſand four hundred and fifteen, with valiant Riders to manage them, ten thouſand two hundred forty nine Foot, with a Train of Artillery conſiſting of ſix hundred and ninety. In all ſixteen thouſand three hundred forty five. After which, they were Quartered on the banks of River Tweed.

In England, John Lilburn about this time was tryed at Guild-hall, a man of a reſtleſs and invincible ſpirit, who is charged with publiſhing Books, wherein the parliament are termed Tyrants, Traytors, Conquering Uſurpers, &c. and though it was generally thought they were of his writing and publiſhing, yet he made ſuch a ſubtile defence, that the Jury brought him in Not Guilty, and ſo he was releaſed. Not long after, Collonel Euſebius Andrews being found with a commiſſion from King Charles II. was condemned by an High Court of Juſtice, and beheaded at Tower-hill. And one Benſon, who was condemned with him, was executed at Tyburn. At the ſame time an Inſurrection happened in Norfolk, an Undiſciplin'd company, aſſembling and roaring about, pretending they deſigned the aboliſhing of popery, the reſtoring the young King to his Crown, and to revenge his Fathers death, and to ſuppreſs Hereſie and Schiſm: But two hundred Horſe being ſent againſt them from Lyn, and three Troops from the Army, ſoon diſperſed them, twenty of whom of no eminency were hanged. Sir Henry Hyde being ſent Ambaſſador from King Charles the Second, to the Grand Seignior at Conſtantinople, had ſome conteſt with Sir Tho. Bendiſh the parliaments Ambaſſador there, whereupon they had a hearing before the Vizier Baſſa, and the reſult was, That Sir Tho. Bendiſh ſhould diſpoſe of Sir Henry Hyde

Hyde as he thought fit, who presently sent him to Smyrna, and thence to England, where he was condemned, and beheaded before the Royal Exchange in London.

Prince Rupert and his Fleet lying in the Haven of Lisbon, as you have heard, General Blake came before the City with the parliaments Fleet, and after having destroyed several French Privateers, and some rich Sugar-ships of the King of Portugals, he was forced by storm, and to revictual, to go to some other Port; upon which, P. Rupert took the opportunity to sail thence with his Fleet to Malaga, where they burnt and spoiled several Merchants Ships. Whereupon, Blake reduced his Fleet to seven stout nimble Sailors, sending the rest home with the Prizes, and with these sailed with all speed after Prince Rupert to Malaga, but they being gone to Alicant, he still followed them, taking in his way a French ship of twenty Guns, with the Roe-buck, a revolted ship; and the Black Prince, another of Prince Ruperts Fleet, to avoid being taken, ran ashoar and blew her self up. Next day, four more of the Princes Fleet ran ashoar at Cartagena, and were cast away, the rest making their escape, and so Blake returned again to England.

The Scots had now finish'd their Treaty with King Charles the Second, he having promised to confirm the Presbyterian Government in Scotland for three years, provided that himself might have always three Chaplains of his own Election: As also to confirm the Militia in the hands of the Estates for five years, provided it afterward should return to himself. It was now resolved a Message should be sent to invite him to make all possible speed to his Kingdom of Scotland, though it was opposed in the parliament at Edenburgh, and put to the Vote whether any more addresses should be made to the King, and thirty two were for the Negative, but the Affirmatives being the

the major part, the meſſage was ſent accordingly, with a proteſtation, ‘ That they would aſſiſt him with ‘ their Lives and Fortunes, to eſtabliſh him in all ‘ his Dominions; yet withal, forbore not to adver- ‘ tiſe him, they had Teſtimonies to produce of his ‘ tranſactings, by Letters with Montroſs (of which ‘ they had intercepted three or four) contrary to ‘ his promiſe at Breda, however they were willing ‘ to diſpence with him for what was paſſed, ſo that ‘ he would, without delay, according to the Articles ‘ of agreement, come over into Scotland, and com- ‘ ply with the Parliament and the Kirk.

After which they prepared for his reception, but prohibited Duke Hamilton, the Earls of Lauderdail and Seaforth, with many other perſons of Quality, who had conſtantly attended him in Jerſey and Holland, from returning into Scotland. About the beginning of June, 1650. he left the Hague, and after a tedious ſtorm, and narrowly eſcaping ſome Engliſh Ships, landed in the North of Scotland, whither ſome Lords were ſent to receive and accompany him to Edenburgh, being entertained by the way with the acclamations of the people. At Dundee, new propoſitions from the Parliament and Kirk were ſent him, which with ſome ſeeming reluctancy he ſigned. The Town of Aberdeen preſented him with fifteen hundred pounds, but the Committee of Eſtates ſent to other places that deſigned the like, enjoining them to bring whatever money and plate they had to beſtow, into the Treaſury which they would appoint.

While they were in expectation of the Kings arrival, the Committee of Eſtates and Parliament conſulted about forming an Army for his ſervice as they pretended, and an Act was paſſed for Training every fourth man, capable to bear Arms, throughout the Kingdom, and for raiſing ſixteen thouſand Foot, and ſix thouſand Horſe, the Earl of Leven to be General

General of the Foot, Holborn Major-General, David Leſley Lieutenant-General of the Horſe, and Montgomery Major-General, the ſupream command being reſerved for the King; who arriving at Edenburgh, was complemented with many congratulations, and July 15. proclaimed King at the Croſs, and had a ſtrong Guard to attend him and obſerve his motions.

We left Cromwel and his Army upon the very edge of Scotland, who upon July 22. 1650. drew them forth to a Rendevoz, upon an Hill within Berwick bounds, from whence they had an exact view of the bordering parts of Scotland, where they were to act their parts; to whom the General made a ſhort ſpeech, exhorting them to be faithful and couragious, and then they need not doubt the bleſſing of Heaven, and incouragement from himſelf: Which they received with ſhouts of approbation. After which he marches into Scotland, quartering in the Field that Night near the Lord Mordingtons-houſe, where proclamation was made, That none upon pain of death, ſhould offer any violence to the perſons or goods of any in Scotland not in Arms; and no ſouldier ſhould dare to ſtraggle half a mile from the Army without ſpecial licenſe. From hence they marched to Dunbar, where they received ſome proviſions from the Ships, ſent on purpoſe to ſupply them, the people having left their Habitations, and nothing behind them. Thence they came to Hadington, twelve miles from Edenborough, without any oppoſition or ſight of an enemy; next day hearing the Scots would meet them at Gladſmeer, they endeavoured to poſſeſs the Moor before them, but no conſiderable party appeared, whereupon M. Gen. Lambert, and Collonel Whaley, with fourteen hundred Horſe, were ſent as a Van-guard to Muſtleborough, to attempt ſomething upon the Scots; and Major Hains, commanding the Forlorn, faced them

them in leſs than a mile of their Trenches. Cromwel, with the reſidue of the Army, drew up before Edenburgh, and ſome skirmiſhes happened about poſſeſſing King Arthurs Hill, within a mile of the City, which the Engliſh gained, and likewiſe a Church, and other Houſes, but the Scots not enduring the ſhock, that Night the Engliſh withdrew and lay cloſe Incamped at Muſcleborough, being wearied with conſtant duty and continual rain: The Scots were within four miles of them, Intrench'd within a line which flanked from Edenburgh to Leith, and lay ſo ſtrong, that the Engliſh lay ſtill that day in the rain without covert, but were incouraged with hope of a ſudden Ingagement. Next day the ground being very wet, and proviſions ſcarce, the Engliſh reſolve to draw to their Quarters at Muſcleborough, which while they were doing, the Scots fell upon their Reer, and put them into ſome diſorder, but ſome bodies of Engliſh Horſe coming up, charged and beat them to their very Trenches: Lambert in this encounter was run through the arm with a Lance, and had his Horſe killed under him, and was wounded in his body, and taken priſoner, and reſcued. The Scots had ſeveral kill'd, ſome of Note, and a Lieutenant Collonel, a Major, and ſome Captains taken priſoners. After which, the Engliſh marched quietly to Muſcleborough that Night, but ſo harraſſed with dirt, and watching that they expected the Scots would fall upon them, which accordingly they did, for about four next morning, fifteen ſelect Troops of Horſe, and others, to the number of fifteen hundred, armed with Backs, Breſts, Head-pieces, Piſtols, Swords and Lances, commanded by Major General Montgomery, and Collonel Stranghan, came on with ſuch reſolution, that they beat in the Guards, and diſordered a Regiment of Horſe, but the Engliſh being alarm'd, inſtantly fell upon them with ſuch courage, that they routed, purſued, and did execution

execution upon them, till within a quarter of a mile of Edenburgh, taking and killing about two hundred, with ſeveral Officers of Quality; Cromwel to diſcover his generoſity, releaſed the principal priſoners, and ſent them to Edenburgh in his own Coach, which did very much rectifie the opinions of many, who by reports were perſwaded he was very cruel.

The Army having again ſpent their proviſions, marched for a ſupply to Dunbar, where the parliaments Ships conſtantly attended them with all Neceſſaries, and then returning toward Edenburgh, they underſtood the Scots were keeping a ſolemn Thankſgiving for their deliverance, ſuppoſing they were quite gone, and would have come no more, but found themſelves much diſappointed: Whereupon the General Aſſembly ſent Cromwel, by David Leſley their General, a Declaration of the ſtate of the Quarrel wherein they were to fight, which he deſired might be publiſhed, 'That the General Aſ-
'ſembly conſidering their muſt be juſt grounds of
'ſtumbling from the Kings Majeſties refuſing to ſub-
'ſcribe the Declaration concerning his former car-
'riage, and reſolutions for the future, in reference
'to the Cauſe of God, the enemies and friends
'thereof doth therefore declare, That the Kirk and
'Kingdom will not own any maliguant party their
'Quarrel or Intereſt, but that they will fight upon
'their former principles, for the Cauſe of God and
'their Kingdom, and therefore as they diſclaim all
'the ſin of the King and his Houſe, ſo they will
'not own him nor his Intereſt, any further than
'he ſhall diſclaim his and his Fathers oppoſition to
'the work of God, and the enemies thereof; and
'that they would with convenient ſpeed, conſider of
'the papers ſent to them from Oliver Cromwel.
To whom the Engliſh General returned this anſwer,
'That the Army continued the ſame they had pro-
'teſt

'ſeſt themſelves to the honeſt people of Scotland, 'wiſhing to them as to their own Souls, it being no 'part of their buſineſs to hinder them in the wor- 'ſhip of God according to their own Conſciences, 'as by his Word they ought: And that they ſhould 'be ready to perform what obligation lay upon them 'by the Covenant, but that under the pretence of 'the Covenant miſtaken, a King ſhould be taken in 'by them, and impoſed on the Engliſh, and thus 'called, The cauſe of God and of the Kingdom, 'and this done for the ſatisfaction of Gods people 'in both Nations, as alledged; Together with a diſ- 'owning of Malignants, although the head of them 'be received, who at this very inſtant hath a party 'fighting in Ireland, and Prince Rupert at Sea upon 'a malignant account, the French and Iriſh Ships 'daily making Depredations upon the Engliſh 'Coaſts, and all by vertue of his Commiſſions, and 'therefore the Army cannot believe, that whilſt 'malignants were fighting and plotting againſt them 'on the one ſide, and the Scots declaring for him on 'the other, it ſhould not be the eſpouſing of a ma- 'lignant Intereſt or Quarrel, but a meer fighting on 'former grounds and principles. If the ſtate of 'the Quarrel be thus, and you reſolve to fight the 'Army, you will have opportunity to do that, elſe 'what means our abode here: And our hope is in 'the Lord.

Having thus ſtated the cauſe of the War in diſputing with the pen, they next reſolve to try the force of ſteel, and fight it out, for the month of Auguſt was near done, and little action performed, ſave the taking of Collington-houſe and Red-hall by ſtorm, and in it the Laird Hamilton, Major Hamilton, and ſixty Souldiers, ſixty Barrels of powder, one hundred Arms, great ſtore of Meal, Malt, Beer, Wine, and other rich plunder. The body of the Engliſh Army removed forthwith from Pencland-hills, till they

they came within a mile of the whole Army of the Scots, and both marched in ſight of each other, a great Bog between only hindring their Engagement, though the Cannon plaid on both ſides. Cromwel drew forth a forlorn to charge them, leading them on in perſon, and coming near their body, one that knew the General fired at him with a Carbine, but timerouſly, which Cromwel obſerving, called out and told him, 'That if he had been one of his 'Souldiers, he would have caſhiered him for firing 'at ſuch a diſtance. This action of his was thought to have more of courage in it than diſcretion; the Scots unwilling to ingage, returned back to their Quarters. Next day, Aug. 28. the great Guns from the Engliſh Camp plaid hard upon the Scots, and greatly annoyed them, all which could not provoke them to fight, but ſtill kept within the protection of their Bog; the Engliſh being in ſome want of proviſions, marched to their old Quarters at Pencland-hills, and from thence, with much difficulty, to Muſcleborough to recruit, and then drew off their Forces, quitted their Garriſons, and marched to Hadington. The Scots attending on their right wing, fell into their Quarters with a reſolute party, and were as valiantly repulſed by a Regiment of Foot, commanded by Collonel Fairfax.

Sept. 1. The Scots being advantagiouſly drawn up at the Weſt-end of the Town, the Engliſh drew Eaſtward into a fair and Champion ground, fit for both Armies to ingage in, but after ſeveral hours expectation of the Scots approach, finding they would not follow them, but only watched their advantage, they marched towards Dunbar, the Scots moving apace after them, and at a paſs attempted to fall upon the Reer, which the Engliſh perceiving, faced about to fight them, whereupon the Scots drew off to the Hills, to endeavour to hinder the Engliſh at the paſs at Copperſpeth, which they ac-

cordingly effected, and then boasted they had the English in Essex's pound, as King Charles the First had that General at great disadvantage in Cornwal, in 1644. this pass being a place where ten stout men may obstruct the passage of forty, thereby to hinder them from any relief from Berwick, or perhaps to keep the English from running away; so confident were they of victory, being lately reinforced with three Regiments, and from the Hills that incompassed this sickly remnant, look'd down on them as their sure prey: And indeed, the English were invironed with all manner of apparent dangers, their Forces were lessened, their Bodies weakned with Fluxes, their strength wasted with Watchings, in want of drink, always troubled with wet and cold weather, and much impaired in point of courage, two thousand at least, being disabled for present service, were sent to Berwick. On the other side, the Scots were stout and hearty, in their own Country, and upon advantagious ground, and double the English in number, they being six thousand Horse, and sixteen thousand Foot, whereas the other were but seven thousand five hundred Foot, and three thousand five hundred Horse.

General Cromwel, and his Council of Officers, finding the Army unfit for further delays, resolved the next morning, Sept. 3. to force a passage through the Scots right wing, or perish in the attempt, and being in Battalia by break of day, they fell unanimously upon the enemy with Horse and Foot, who to hinder the English at a pass, drew up all the Horse upon their right wing, and valiantly received the Onset. The word of the English was, The Lord of Hosts; that of the Scots, The Covenant. The English prest forward vigorously, and resolved to vanquish or dye. After one hours dispute, the Scots were wholly routed, the Horse fled and left the Foot exposed to all dangers, who were most of them

slain

ſlain or taken priſoners, the purſuit continuing eight miles from the Field of Battel. Of the Scots were ſlain about three thouſand, and ten thouſand taken priſoners, (many deſperately wounded) among whom were ten Collonels, twelve Lieutenant-Collonels, nine Majors, forty ſeven Captains, ſeventy two Lieutenants, eighty Enſigns, beſides Corners and Quarter maſters, with two hundred Colours, twenty two Cannon, ſeveral Field-pieces, and fifteen thouſand Arms. Thoſe of Quality taken were the Lord Libberton and his Son, the Lord Cromſtown, Sir James Lanſdale Lieutenant-General of the Foot, and divers others; and the Purſe to the Great Seal of Scotland. The priſoners were ſo numerous, that it ſeemed troubleſome to keep as to take them, ſo the General diſcharged near five theuſand moſt ſick and wounded, the reſt being about the ſame number, were conveyed to Berwick by four Troops of Collonel Hackers Horſe. General Leſley eſcaped by flight to Edenburgh, by Ten a Clock that morning the fight happened, and carried the news of his own defeat to his Maſters, which ſo daunted them, that Edenborough was preſently deſerted by its Garriſon, and Leith reſolved to receive the Conquerors, becauſe they could not keep them out.

Sept. 7. Four Regiments of Foot marched into Leith, where they found thirty ſeven Guns mounted on Platforms, ſome Shot and Ammunition, with ſtore of Wealth. The ſame day Cromwel drew the reſt of his Army, both Horſe and Foot, into Edenburgh, without any loſs, ſave the Arm of a ſouldier taken off by a Cannon bullet from the Caſtle. After which, the Lord General ſent a Trumpeter into the Caſtle, to invite the Miniſters to come and preach in their Churches, which they refuſing, the Engliſh ſupplied their places. He then cauſed a protection for Markets, and liberty of Trade in Edenburgh and Leith, to be proclaimed by Drum and

Trumpet, and marched thence with his Army to Linlithgow, leaving Colonel Overton with his Brigade behind, and came within a mile of Sterling, from whence Cromwel ſent a Letter to that Garriſon, expreſſing the Armies conſtant affection and tenderneſs to the people of Scotland, which though hitherto ineffectual, yet being ſo far advanced into their country, deſired them to conſider of it, and deliver up that place to the Common-wealth of England. The Trumpeter that carried the Letter, was met by a Gentleman on Foot, with a pike in his hand, who told him, They would not let him come into the Storm, nor receive his Letter. In the Afternoon came a Trumpeter from the Scots, deſiring releaſe of priſoners; to which Cromwel anſwered, 'That 'they came not thither to make Merchandize of 'men, or to make gain to themſelves, but for the 'ſervice and ſecurity of the Common-wealth of 'England. The ſame day a ſtorm was deſigned upon Sterling, but it not being thought practicable, the Army marched back to Linlithgow, which they fortified and made a Frontier Garriſon, being in the heart of the country, leaving there five Troops of Horſe, and ſix Companies of Foot, and Cromwel with the reſt returned to Edenburgh, where the General and Officers kept a Faſt. The Kirk party alſo about this time, appointed a ſolemn Faſt, declaring the occaſion of it to be, '1. To humble 'themſelves for their too much confidence in the 'arm of fleſh. 2. For the malignity and prophaneſs 'of their Army. 3. For the plundrings and wickedneſs of their Army when they were in England. '4. For their not ſufficient purging their Army. '5. For their Commiſſioners unlawful and ſurreptitious manner of proſecuting the Treaty with the 'King, and their crooked ways in bringing him home. '6. For their not ſufficient purging the Kings Houſe. '7. For their juſt grounds they have that the Kings

'Repentance

'Repentance was not found, nor from the 'heart.

After this, Cromwel took order for the effectual reducing of the Caſtle of Edenburgh, which the Scots accounted Impregnable by ſcituation, and having a Garriſon of four hundred ſouldiers, and all manner of Ammunition and Proviſions, Collonel William Dundaſs being Governour: But the General, notwithſtanding all ſeeming difficulties, imployed many Scotch and Engliſh Miners, who went ſo near the Works of the Caſtle, that they carried off one Scots Colours, three hundred Muskets, and other Arms, without any loſs, though the Scots ſent many great and ſmall ſhot among them. ſo that the fortifications of Leith, and the Mining at Edinburgh, went on proſperouſly. Octob. 2. The Engliſh ſearched the great Church at Edinburgh, where they found one great Iron Gun, two hundred new Muskets, ſixteen Barrels of powder, ſixty five bundles of Bandileers, and Swords, two hundred new Halberts, three hundred new Pikes, and two load of Match.

And now let us conſider the calamitous condition of Scotland, that when an Enemy was in the very bowels of their country, there ſhould be ſo many diviſions among themſelves, even to the deſtroying of each other; for one party in the North was for the King without the Kirk; theſe with Middleton keep the Highlands. Another were for the Kirk againſt the King, whoſe chiefs were Collonel Ker, Stranghan, and their Adherents in the Weſt. A third party were for King and Kirk, as David Leſley, Holbourn, and thoſe of Fife; theſe were then at Sterling, and moſt conſiderable, having the authority of the Committee of Eſtates, and General Aſſembly, to countenance them. All theſe had their Swords drawn againſt each other. Things being in this poſture, Cromwel ſends a Letter both to the Committee of Eſtates, and to Ker and Stranghan, declaring,

declaring, 'What amicable ways they had hitherto 'uſed to prevent the effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, 'before and ſince their coming into Scotland, which 'though it ſucceeded not, yet they ſhould ſtill en-'deavour the ſame; aſſuring them, their arms 'were ſtill ſtretch'd out to imbrace them, when 'ever God ſhould incline them to come in. and 'that they ſought not domination, nor to inſlave 'them, or depreſs their Church-Government, nor 'ſought their Goods or Eſtates, but to carry on the 'Lords Work; and that if they would ſtill be 'blinded, and perſiſt in gain-ſaying and oppoſing, 'then what further miſery befel their Nation by 'Famine or Sword, would lye heavy on them.

This Letter was ſent by Collonel Whaley, who ſoon after received an anſwer from Collonel Ker, wherein they inveigh ſeverely againſt the proceedings of the Army, and 'That no Ceſſation or Treaty 'was to be made till the Engliſh were gone out of 'the Kingdom, which they had unjuſtly Invaded: So that there being no likelihood of an accommodation, Major Brown with a party of Horſe, took in a ſtrong place called Dalhouſe, and in it fifty Muskets, fifty Pikes, four Barrels of Powder, with ſtore of proviſions, ſuppoſed to be the Magazine of the Moſs Troopers (who kill'd divers Engliſh ſtragling for proviſions) ſome of whom were taken at Darlington Caſtle, ſeven miles from Edenburgh. Soon after, Lambert with two thouſand Horſe, marched toward Dumfreize, Collonel Ker being then about Pebles, and Whaley in his march toward the Enemy, took in Dalkeith Caſtle with a threatning ſummons, wherein were ſtore of Arms, Cannon, Powder, Match and Ball, the Wall of it was thirteen foot broad at the top: Lambert having with difficulty paſſed Hambleton River, the next morning Ker reſolved to ſurprize him, and attempted it with much courage, but the Engliſh being timely alarm'd, ſuddenly

denly ſurrounded moſt of the Scots Horſe, of whom they killed one hundred, and took one hundred, beſides four hundred Horſe and Furniture deſerted by their Riders, purſuing the reſt to Ayre, Ker himſelf being taken priſoner in the flight, with ſeveral other Officers. Collonel Stranghan, and Captain Griffen, with ſome others of the Weſtern party, came in to Lambert, who brought them to the Head Quarters at Edenburgh.

Cromwel obſerving that the Mining of the Caſtle would be very tedious, he raiſes a Mount upon a riſing ground, whereon to plant a Battery, notwithſtanding the utmoſt endeavours of the beſieged, and having mounted four Mortar-pieces, and ſix Battering Cannon upon it, he ſent one ſummons more to the Governour, That for preventing further miſchiefs, he would ſurrender the place to him upon proper conditions. The Governour anſwered, That he was intruſted by the Committee of Eſtates of Scotland to keep the Caſtle, and deſired two days time to acquaint them with his condition; but this was denied. Whereupon the Cannon and Mortars began to play, and the Scots hung out a Flag of defiance in contempt of them, but they had not plaid long e're they took it in, ſo that it was judged ſome great damage was done by four or five ſhells that fell among them, and preſently put out a white Flag on the top of the Caſtle, ſending forth a Drummer, the Governour deſiring once again That he might have leave to ſend to the Committee of Eſtates, which being again refuſed, two Commiſſioners of each ſide concluded a Treaty, whereby it was agreed, 'That the Caſtle of Edinburgh ſhould 'be ſurrendred to his Excellency the Lord Gene-'ral Cromwel, on December 24. 1650. with all 'the Cannon, Arms, Magazine and Furniture of 'War thereto belonging: That the Governor, with 'all the Officers and Souldiers, ſhould then march

'forth with their Arms, Colours flying, Drums 'beating, Marches lighted, and Bullet in mouth, to 'ſuch place as they ſhall chooſe; that ſuch Inhabi-'tants as have any Goods in the Caſtle, ſhall have 'them reſtored.

There were taken in this ſtrong Caſtle five French Cannon, five Dutch half Cannon, two Culverings, two *Demi*-culverings, two Minions, two Falcons, twenty eight braſs Drakes, two Petards, ſeven thouſand Arms, eighty Barrels of Powder, ſtore of Cannon ſhot, and other proviſions proportionable. It was much admired that this ſtrong Hold, the moſt Impregnable in all Scotland, ſhould be ſo ſoon ſurrendred, conſidering its ſcituation and advantages being built upon a very high Rock or Precipice, having only one entrance, and that very ſteep and narrow, ſo that not above three can go abreſt, overlooking and commanding all places about it, inſomuch that by the Cannon the Engliſh were often galled in their Quarters, though at a conſiderable diſtance. It was the common diſcourſe at that time, that it was aſſaulted with ſilver Engines, but whether Covetouſneſs, Cowardice or Treachery, were the cauſe, it was of very great conſequence and advantage to Cromwel, and the further proceedings to his Army.

The ſharpneſs of the Winter, in that Northern Climate, was ſo extream about this time, that the War ſeemed almoſt at a ſtand, and the Scots were imployed in Crowning the King, who had been ſome time before at St. Johnſtons, where he received the news of the loſs of the Scots at Dunbar, and of the death of his Siſter the Princeſs Elizabeth, who died about the ſame time at Carisbrook Caſtle in the Iſle of Wight. The Town of Scoon was appointed for his Coronation, where one hundred and fifty Kings of that Nation had been Crowned before; thither therefore, Jan. 1. 1651. the King with the Nobility,

bility, Birons and Burgeſſes, in their Robes removed, the whole Scotch Army ſtanding all the way as a Guard from St. Johnſtons thither, having heard the Sermon preached by Mr. Robert Dowglas, ſitting upon a Scaffold erected in the Church, he took the ordinary Coronation Oath, and ſubſcribed the National Covenant, and likewiſe the ſolemn League and Covenant: After which he aſcended upon a Stage a little higher, and ſate down on the Throne, when the people being demanded four times, by the King at Arms, 'Whether they were willing to accept of 'King Charles for their King, and become ſubject to his Commandments: They expreſs'd their conſent with loud acclamations, God ſave King Charles the ſecond. Then the Crown was ſet upon his head by the Marqueſs of Argyle, and the Nobility touching it with their right hands, ſwore Allegiance to him in theſe words, 'By the eternal and almighty God, 'who liveth and reigneth for ever, I ſhall ſupport 'thee to the uttermoſt. The people alſo holding up their hands, ſwore obedience according to the uſual Oath. Then the King and Nobility departed in the ſame pomp as they entred, and after a ſtately Dinner return'd to St. Johnſtons.

This being over, the Scots conſulted how to raiſe ſuch an Army as might drive the Engliſh out of Scotland; to which purpoſe, after they had Excommunicated Collonel Stranghan, Smeton, and others, who came into the Engliſh, they gave out Commiſſions for raiſing more Forces, and many new commanders were made, Midleton being Lieutenant General of the Horſe. Soon after which, David Leſley their Lieutenant General, with a party of eight hundred Horſe, made an attempt upon Lithgow, where was Collonel Sanderſon with a Regiment of Horſe, who received them ſo warmly, that the Scots retreated without entring the Town. Cromwel about this time being willing to gain all thoſe Garriſons on

the South side of the Frith, he ordered Collonel Fenwick, with two Regiments of Horse and Foot, to endeavour to reduce Hume Castle, who coming before it, sent in this summons to Cockburne the Governor:

'Sir, His excellency the Lord General Cromwel, 'hath commanded me to reduce, this castle you 'now possess, under his Obedience, which if you 'now deliver into his hands, you shall have fit 'terms for your self and those with you, and ease 'the adjacent parts of a great charge; if you refuse, 'I doubt not in a short time, by the Lords assistance, 'to obtain what now I demand. I expect your an- 'swer by seven of the Clock to morrow morning.

To the Governor of Hume Castle. Your Servant George Fenwick.

To whom the Governor returns the following conceited Answer:

'Right Honourable, I have received a Trumpeter 'of yours, as he tells me, without the pass, to ren- 'der Hume-castle to the Lord General Cromwel, 'please you I never saw your General, nor know 'your General; as for Hume-castle it stands upon 'a Rock. Given at Hume-castle this day, before 'seven a Clock. So resteth, without prejudice, to 'my Native Country,

For the Governor of Berwick. Your most humble Servant, Thomas Cockburne.

After which, to shew his confidence in the strength of the place, he sent Collonel Fenwick the following Verses:

'I

'I William of the Waſtle,
'Am now in my Caſtle,
'And awe the Dogs in the Town,
'Shan't gar me gang down.

But notwithſtanding this reſolute and quibbling anſwer, when the Engliſh with their Culverin and Mortar-piece had made a ſmall breach, the beſieged beat a parley, and having formerly refuſed the conditions offered, were compelled now to ſurrender upon mercy, and the Governour and Garriſon conſiſting in ſeventy eight Officers and Souldiers, gang'd out of the Caſtle. After which, collonel Monk with three Regiments of Horſe and Foot, laid Siege to Timptallon caſtle, which had much moleſted the country with their excurſions, againſt which they plaid their Mortar-pieces forty eight hours together without ſucceſs: They then batter'd the caſtle with ſix large cannon, which did ſuch notable execution, that the Scots deſired a Truce, and terms to march away, but none would be granted, ſave to have their lives ſaved, which was at laſt accepted, and the caſtle yielded, with all the Guns, Arms, Ammunition and Proviſion therein; the taking this caſtle was of great concern to the Engliſh, the paſſage from Edenburgh to Berwick being now almoſt clear. But notwithſtanding all the care that was uſed, the Engliſh were daily ſurprized and killed in ſmall ſtragling parties, which occaſioned General Cromwel to publiſh the following Proclamation:

'Finding that divers under my command are not 'only daily ſpoil'd and robb'd, but alſo ſometimes 'barbarouſly and inhumanely ſlain, by a ſort of 'Outlaws and Robbers, not under the diſcipline of 'any Army; and finding that all our tenderneſs to 'the country produceth no better effect than their 'compliance

'compliance with, and protection of such persons, 'and considering that it is in the power of the coun- 'try to detect and discover them, many of them 'being Inhabitants of those places where commonly 'the Outrage is committed, and perceiving that their 'motion is ordinarily by the invitation, and accord- 'ing to the intelligence given them by Country-men, I 'do therefore declare, That whereſoever any under 'my command, ſhall be hereafter robbed or ſpoiled 'by ſuch parties, I will require life for life, and a 'plenary ſatisfaction for their goods, of thoſe Pa- 'riſhes and places where the Fact ſhall be commit- 'ted, unleſs they discover and produce the Offen- 'dor: And this I wiſh all perſons to take notice of, 'that none may plead Ignorance. Given under my 'hand at Edenburgh, Nov. 5. 1650.

O. Cromwel.

In purſuance hereof, ſeveral ſums of money were levied, upon ſuch Pariſhes where any Robberies and Murthers were committed, and all abettors and aſſiſters were condemned and executed. General Cromwel with his Army, after this, marched from Edenburgh, and often attempted to paſs over into Fife, but the ſeaſon and difficult paſſage not permitting it, they retire to their Winter Quarrers, and received all manner of proviſions from the Engliſh fleet newly arrived at Leith, which was a great incouragement to the ſouldiers. in the midſt of the hardſhips and diſeaſes to which they were expoſed, and of which the General had a great ſhare, by many violent fits of the contagious diſtemper of that country, which brought him to the very brink of the Grave, ſo that it was reported he was dead, to the great joy of the Scots, who were ſo pleaſed with the news, that they would hardly ſuffer themſelves to be better informed: for a Scotch Trumpeter

ter coming out of Fife to Edenburgh, to treat about reſtoring a ſhip which the Engliſh had taken near Burnt-Iſland; after he had delivered his meſſage, he confidently told the ſouldiers their General was dead, and that they did well in concealing it, but he would never believe otherwiſe, nor could he be convinced, till the General ordered him to be brought into his preſence, who was now ſomewhat recovered, ſo that upon his return this falſe rumour vaniſhed. But the Parliament of England hearing that he had a relapſe afterward, and a violent Ague, they ſent him two eminent Phyſicians, Dr. Wright and Dr. Bates, to uſe their utmoſt Art for his recovery, with an Order that gave him liberty to repair into England for recovering his health: To which he made a return of Thanks, by a Letter to the Lord Preſident, in which among others, are theſe unuſual expreſſions: 'My Lord, my ſickneſs was indeed ſo 'violent, that my Nature was not able to bear the 'weight thereof, but the Lord was pleaſed to de-'liver me beyond expectations, and to give me 'cauſe to ſay once more, He hath plucked me out of 'the Grave. So that now, by the goodneſs of God, 'I find my ſelf growing to ſuch a ſtate of health and 'ſtrength, as may yet, if it be his good will, render 'me uſeful, according to my poor ability, in the 'ſtation wherein he hath ſet me. I wiſh more 'ſteadineſs in your affairs here, than to depend, in 'the leaſt, upon ſo frail a thing as I am; indeed 'they do not, nor do they own any Inſtrument; 'this Cauſe is of God, and it muſt proſper. Oh, 'that all that have any hand therein, being ſo per-'ſwaded, would gird up the loins of their minds, 'and endeavour in all things to walk worthy of the 'Lord. So prays, my Lord,

Edenburgh, June 3.

Your moſt humble Servant, O. Cromwel.

At

At this time Ambaſſadors came to the Parliament of England, from Spain, Portugal, and Holland; the firſt was reminded of delaying execution on the Aſſaſſinates of the Engliſh Reſident at Madrid: The ſecond, not having full power to give ſatisfaction for the expences of the ſtate and loſs of the Merchants Goods, by means of that King, was quickly diſmiſs'd. The Hollander kept at a diſtance, rather wiſhing proſperity to the Royal party, than heartily deſiring peace with the Common-wealth of England: Soon after, Oliver St. John, and Walter Strickland, were ſent Ambaſſadors Extraordinary to the States, and were received with great ſplendor, and having audience of the States-General at the Hague, the Lord Ambaſſador St. John made a learned and elegant ſpeech, declaring, 'That they were 'ſent over to the High and Mighty States of the Netherlands, from the Parliament of the Common-'wealth of England, to make a firm League and 'Confederacy between the two Republicks, if they 'think fit, notwithſtanding the many injuries the 'Engliſh have received from the Dutch Nation. 'Likewiſe to renew and confirm the former Treaties 'and Agreements of Trade and Commerce, made 'between the two Nations, wherein he ſhewed 'them the notable advantages of England, in re-'ſpect of its commodious ſcituation for advance-'ment of Trade, and all other benefits. Laſtly, 'That he was commanded to let them know how 'highly the Parliament reſented the murder of 'Dr. Doriſlaus their Agent, not doubting but they 'would do their utmoſt to diſcover the Authors 'thereof. After which, the Ambaſſadors Gentlemen receiving ſeveral affronts from the Royal party there, the States publiſhed a Proclamation to prevent it; yet theſe abuſes continued, and no puniſhment being inflicted on any, though the common people often ſwarm'd about the Ambaſſadors Gates,

and

and assaulted their Servants; and the States evading any Treaty till they saw how matters would succeed in Scotland, the Parliament highly resenting these proceedings, suddenly recalled their Ambassadors, to the great surprize of the States: Who thereupon endeavoured, by frequent visits to them, to insinuate their amicable Intentions, but the Ambassadors returned to England. And that which gave some jealousie to the Parliament of their designs, was, Because Admiral Van Trump, with a Fleet of Ships, lay hovering upon the Coasts of Scilly, as though he would attempt something against it, and the occasion of it being demanded of the States, they replied, 'They had no other intent but to demand 'the restitution of such Ships and Goods as the Pi-'rates thereof had taken from their people. With which answer the Parliament were somewhat satisfied, yet to prevent the worst, April 18. 1651. Sir George Ayscough, with a Squadron of ships, designed for reducing the Caribbee-Islands, was sent thither, and landed three hundred Seamen besides souldiers, and soon became masters of the Islands Tresco and Briers, taking therein one hundred and fifty prisoners, and killing twenty. They took also two Frigates of thirty two and eighteen Guns, and secured the best Harbour belonging to those Islands. Hence the Enemy fled to St. Maries, their chief strength, which yet was soon surrendred. Cornet-castle, in the Isle of Guernsey, was at this time attempted, but through mis-information of the weakness of the place, the design miscarried, with the loss of many Officers and souldiers. About this time Brown Bushel, a very earnest stickler for the Royal party, both by Sea and Land, and who when in the service of the Parliament had delivered up Scarborough to the King, was taken and beheaded at Tower-hill.

The Parliament of Scotland having adjourned during the Coronation of the King, met again in March, and

and ſome differences aroſe about reſtoring ſeveral Lords of the Royal party to their ſeats in the Houſe, which yet the Aſſembly would not admit of, till they had paſſed the ſtool of Repentance, which Duke Hamilton did with ſome kind of ſplendor, having a Table placed before him with a black Velvet cover, and a Cuſhion of the ſame, and making a great Feaſt that day. The King having now got ſome power, endeavoured to regain reputation among his ſubjects, by putting all the Garriſons of Fife into a poſture of defence, againſt the landing of the Engliſh, drawing what Forces he could ſpare, both Horſe and Foot, from Sterling, and joining them with the new Leavies, which for better ſecurity he Quartered on the Water ſide, and then goes to the Highlands to compoſe all differences there, and to incite them to riſe and join with him; from whence Midleton ſoon after brought a conſiderable body of Horſe and Foot, and the Town of Dundee raiſed a Regiment of Horſe at their own charge, and ſent them with a ſtately Tent, and ſix fine braſs cannon, for a preſent to the King then at Sterling, whoſe Army now conſiſted in ſix thouſand Horſe, and fifteen thouſand foot, but the Earl of Eglington being ſent to the Weſt, with ſome other commanders, to raiſe more forces, coming to Dunbarton, Collonel Lilburn, upon notice, ſent a party of Horſe, who ſuddenly ſeized the Earl, his Son Collonel James Montgomery, Lieutenant Collonel Colborn, and ſome others, whom they carried priſoners to Edinburgh.

At the ſame time a deſign was diſcovered, the Engliſh Covenanters intending a general riſing in Lancaſhire to join with the Scots, the chief Agent herein being Thomas Cook of Grays-Inn, Eſq; who was taken and committed. After this, a ſhip bound from the North of Scotland to the Iſle of Man, being by Tempeſt driven into Ayre, was ſearcht, and

many

many papers ſeized that gave light into the buſineſs. And a party of Horſe and Dragoons marching to Grenoch, ſeized Mr Birkenhead, another Agent for the Royal deſigns, about whom they found ſuch Letters, Commiſſions and Inſtructions, as the whole Intrigue was diſcovered; upon which Major General Harriſon was ſent with a Detachment of Horſe and Foot to Carliſle, to prevent Inſurrection, or oppoſe the Inroads of the *Scots*. At London ſeveral were taken up, viz. Mr. Chriſtopher Love, Major Alford, Major Adams, Collonel Barton, Mr. Blackmore, Mr. Caſe, Mr Cawton, Dr. Drake, Mr. Drake, Captain Farr, Mr. Gibbons, Mr. Haviland, Major Huntington, Mr. Jenkyns, Mr. Jequel, Mr. Jackſon, Lieutenant Collonel Jackſon, Captain Muſſey, Mr. Walton, Captain Potter, Mr. Robinſon, Mr. *Sterks*, Collonel Sawton, Collonel Vaughan, and others; of all whom, only Mr. Love and *Mr.* Gibbons ſuffered, being both beheaded on Tower-hill, Aug. 22. 1651. The reſt (among whom were ſeven or eight Miniſters of London) upon their humble petitions and acknowledgments, were releaſed and pardoned. There happened about this time an Inſurrection of two or three hundred in Wales, who declared for King Charles, upon a report that the Engliſh Army, under Cromwel, was defeated in *Scotland*, but they were ſoon ſuppreſſed.

Collonel Monk was now ſent by Cromwel to ſet down before Blackneſs, which had ſheltred ſome that had much annoyed their Quarters: After the Batteries were made, and ſome ſhot ſpent, they required Quarter, which was given, and the place ſurrendred. Yet the *Scots* grew very formidable, and made many Inſals upon the out Quarters and Garriſons of the Engliſh, with much ſucceſs, by having the advantage of knowing the country, ſo that ſeveral were ſlain; whereupon, Orders were given for contracting their Quarters, by ſlighting the remote

mote Garrisons, and the Army was put into a marching posture for Fife, Blackness being made their Magazine; Captain Butler at the same time arriving in the Success Frigate at Leith, with eighty thousand pounds for paying the souldiers, which being distributed among them, infused fresh courage into their hearts.

June 24. The Army being ready for a Campaign, General Cromwel ordered them to march to Redhall, and thence to Penicland-hills, where they Incamp'd, and the General in his Tent treated the Lady Lambert, General Deans, and other English Ladies and Gentlewomen, who came from Leith to view the Camp, and then returned again. The Army hearing the Scots were at Falkirk, marched to Lithgow, from whence they might see the Tents of the Scotch Army at Torwood, four miles on this side Sterling, and hoped to come to a Battel; but the King having drawn his foot into Torwood, fortified his camp, which with the River and Bogs, prevented any assault, though Cromwel marched in sight of them, and stood from twelve to eight at Night, expecting the Scots approach; but they only plaid on the English with their cannon at a distance, so that the Army drew off to Glasgow, and from thence to Hamilton, but not being able to ingage them, he attack'd Kalender-house, where part of their forces were, which denying to yield upon summons, the souldiers with Faggots passed over the Mote, and in half an hour possess'd the house, putting the Governour and sixty two souldiers to the sword, and this in sight of the whole Scotch Army, who did not once stir to relieve their friends.

Cromwel finding the Scots would protract the War, resolves once more to attempt the taking of Fife, whereby to prevent them from having any further supplies: Whereupon, there were drawn out sixteen hundred foot, and four Troops of Horse,

who

who under the command of Collonel Overton were designed for this service, and being imbarked in the twenty seven flat bottom'd boats sent from England for this purpose, early in the morning they attempted to land at Queens-ferry, which with the loss of six men was effected, and presently fell to intrench themselves. While this was doing, Cromwel, with his Army, marched up close to the *Scots*, that if they had gone toward Fife, he might have ingaged them before they could have reached Sterling. The Scots receiving the alarm the same day, sent four thousand horse and foot under Sir John Brown, to force the English out of Fife; upon which, Cromwel sent Lambert with two Regiments of Horse, and two of Foot, to reinforce the other party, who in twenty four hours were ferried over and joined. Whereupon, collonel Okey with his Regiment fell in among the *Scots*, whereby they were forced to draw up in Battalia, and so did the English, who were superiour in number, but had the disadvantage of ground. In this posture they continued, facing each other, about an hour and half, when the English resolved to attack the *Scots* by ascending an Hill, and thereupon Lamberts right wing falling furiously upon the *Scots* left, they endured the shock with much resolution, after a while the whole body ingaging, in a very short time the *Scots* were utterly routed, two thousand being slain, and fourteen hundred taken prisoners, with their commander Sir John Brown, Collonel Buchan, and many others of Quality. Of the English, few were killed, but many wounded. After which, other Detachments were sent over to Fife, so as to inable them upon occasion, to ingage the whole *Scots* Army. Immediately after the strong Castle of Inneſgarrey, scituate on a Rock, in the midst of the Fryth, between Queens-ferry and North-ferry, was surrendred to the English, the Garrison being so terrified,

fied, that they were content to march out only with their swords by their sides, to shew what profession they were of, leaving behind all their Ammunition and Provisions, with sixteen pieces of cannon.

July 27. The whole English Army appeared before Burnt-Island, and the General sent a summons for the rendition thereof; to which the Governour returned a modest answer, and the next day desired a parley: Commissions on both sides were chosen, and after some debates it was agreed, That all the Provisions, Guns, and Shipping of War, should be delivered to the English, &c. and all the Officers and Souldiers to march out with Drums beating, &c. Thence they marched instantly to St. Johnstons, a place of great strength and importance, into which the King had lately put a Regiment of foot, and therefore they made some difficulty at first to surrender, but finding that Cromwel had ordered the draining of the Moat round about the Town, the courage of the Scots failed them so, that they soon delivered it up.

The King finding his affairs in Scotland grow very desperate, he muster'd his Forces, and finding them to be about sixteen thousand Horse and Foot, with these, and hopes of further supplies from his friends, he resolves to return for England it self, and accordingly the Scotch Army began their march from Sterling, July 31. 1651. and the sixth day after entred England by the way of Carlisle; which news coming to London, very much startled the Parliament, and Cromwel was a little surprized thereat, who by staying to reduce St. Johnstons, had suffered the Kings Army to get three days march before him, which he excuses in a Letter to the Parliament, and shews, That the Army acted to the best of their Judgments. Cromwel presently orders Lambert to march in the Reer of the Scots, with a party of three thousand Horse and Dragoons; Harrison was likewise commanded

commanded to attack them, if poſſible, in the Van, and the General himſelf followed with about ſixteen Regiments of Horſe and Foot, leaving the proſecution of the War in Scotland to Lieutenant General Monk, with ſeven thouſand Horſe and Foot, who preſently took in the Town and Caſtle of Sterling, with Aberdeen, Abernethy, Dundee, Dimotter-caſtle, Dunbarton-caſtle, and ſeveral others, ſo that all Scotland was ſubdued to the Republick of England.

The King marched forward with his Army, being proclaimed in all Towns as he went along, and publiſhed a Declaration, with a promiſe of pardon to all perſons, for all crimes, except Cromwel, Bradſhaw, and Cook. A copy of the ſame Declaration was ſent by the King, in a Letter to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, but was by Order of parliament burnt by the Hangman at the Royal Exchange. And a day or two after, at a muſter of the City Trained Bands at Bunhil-fields, conſiſting of fourteen thouſand men, Lenthal, the Speaker of the Houſe, came thither, and cauſed a fellow, with a Link, to burn a copy of the Declaration at the head of every Regiment. On the other ſide, the Parliament paſs an Act to make it High-Treaſon to correſpond with, or aſſiſt Charles Stewart, with any relief whatſoever. At length, after many halts and skirmiſhes, long and tedious marches, of three hundred miles in three Weeks, the Scots entred into Worceſter, Aug. 23. 1651. from whence the King ſent his Letters Mandatory to Sir Tho. Midleton, and Coll. Mackworth, Governours of Shrewsbury, to raiſe Forces for him, but without ſucceſs. In the mean time, the Parliament raiſed the Militia of the Counties, and Cromwel and the reſt of their Army coming up together, they ſurrounded them on every ſide with their numerous Hoſt, it being never known before in England, that ſo great Forces ſhould be aſſembled

assembled in so short a time, which in the whole were judged to be above fifty thousand, and the Scots in Worcester no more than thirteen thousand. The Earl of Derby, about this time, being landed, as was expected, at Wyewater in Lancashire, with about three hundred Gentlemen and others, endeavoured to raise the Country, while the English were busied at Worcester, and in a little time they increased to fifteen hundred. Collonel Lilburn was sent thither to observe his motions, and Cromwels Regiment of foot being at Manchester, was appointed to join him at Preston. To prevent which, the Earl marched toward Manchester, whereupon Lilburn endeavoured to flank them in their march, so to join the foot; which the Earl perceiving, prest to ingage, and Lilburn being over-match'd in foot, the dispute proved tedious and difficult, yet in an hour the Earl was totally routed, and many persons of Quality taken, and five hundred common souldiers, with all their baggage, arms and ammunition, the Earl of Derbys George, Garter, and other Robes with the badges of the Order, but he himself escaped, and recovered Worcester. There were slain the Lord Widdrington, Sir Tho. Tildesley, Collonel Matthew Boynton, and other inferior Officers, with about sixty private souldiers. Of the parliaments party, ten were slain, but many wounded.

Cromwel having disposed the whole Army round about Worcester, in order to a Siege, the first remarkable attempt was possessing a pass upon the Severne, at a place called Upton, which was done by a party led by Lambert and Fleetwood, who marched toward the River Teame, over which was made a bridge of boats, and another over Severn, on the Generals side, upon which the Kings party took the alarm, and drew out Horse and Foot to oppose the Lieutenant Generals passage, to whose relief

Collonel

Collonel Ingolsbys, and Fairfaxes Regiment of foot, the Generals Life-Guard, and Hackers Regiment of Horſe, were all led on by Cromwel himſelf: Then Collonel Goffe and Deans Regiments fell to ſcowring the Hedges, which the Kings party had lined, and beat them from Hedge to Hedge, ſo that being ſeconded by a freſh ſupply, they were forced to retreat to Powick-bridge, where three Regiments of Scots more maintained another hot diſpute, but at length all retired into Worceſter, except ſome that were taken. After which, the Royaliſts renewing their courage, drew out what Horſe and Foot they could on Cromwels ſide, the King leading them on, they imagining moſt of his Army had been on the other ſide, ſo that by this bold and reſolute ſalley, Cromwels men were forced a little to retire, but after a fight of four hours, wherein the King had his Horſe twice ſhot under him, the Works and Fort-Royal were taken, and their cannon turned upon themſelves, and the Engliſh entred the Town; upon which, many of the foot threw down their arms, which the King perceiving, rode up and down among them, ſometimes with his Hat in his hand, intreating them to ſtand to their Arms, adding, 'I had rather you would ſhoot me than keep 'me alive, to ſee the ſad conſequences of this fatal 'day. But all proving ineffectual, the Earl of Cleveland, and ſome others, rallying ſome Forces, put a ſmall check to the Victors, whereby the King had the opportunity to make his eſcape out of the Town, which he did about ſeven a clock at Night in the dark, with ſixty Horſe, out of St. Martins-gate.

The whole Army now entring the City, the ſouldiers furiouſly fly through all the ſtreets, doing ſuch execution, that nothing could be ſeen for ſome time but blood and ſlaughter, till at laſt the plunder of the Town, and the priſoners, having a little ſatisfi-

ed

ed their appetites, they think of ſecuring the reſt. Moſt of the Scots Foot were ſlain or taken, but three thouſand Horſe made their eſcape. The number of the ſlain and priſoners was about ten thouſand. Thoſe of Quality taken were Duke Hamilton, the Earles of Lauderdale, Rothes, Carnworth, Shrewsbury, Cleveland, Derby and Kelby, and ſeveral other Lords and Gentlemen; ſix Collonels of Horſe, thirteen of Foot; nine Lieutenant Collonels of horſe, eight of foot; ſix Majors of horſe, thirteen of foot; thirty ſeven Captains of Horſe, ſeventy two of foot; fifty five Quarter-maſters of Horſe, eighty nine Lieutenants of foot; ſeventy ſix Cornets of horſe, ninety nine Enſigns of foot; thirty of the Kings ſervants, nine Miniſters, nine Surgeons; one hundred fifty eight Colours, the Kings Standard, Coach and Horſes, with other rich plunder, and his Collar of SS. Many parties were taken in Warwickſhire, Shropſhire, &c. ſo that few of that great body but were killed or taken. *M.* General Maſſey being wounded ſurrendred himſelf, and after made his eſcape. *M.* General *Mi*dleton, Lieutenant General Leſley, were taken in another place; and ſoon after moſt of the Nobility and Gentry of *S*cotland were taken at a place called Ellet in that Kingdom, where they were aſſembled to propagate the Royal cauſe, namely, Old General Leſley, Earl *Mar*ſhal, Earl of Crawford, the Lords Keith, Ogilby, Burgoiny, Huntley, Ley, with many Knights, Gentlemen and Miniſters, which ſoon after were ſhip'd and ſent for England.

Such was the ſudden change of the condition of the *S*cots and the King, that he who a few days before was proclaimed King of Great Britain, had now neither Camp nor Garriſon to retire to, five hundred pounds ſterling being offered to diſcover him; ſo that after travelling in diſguiſe, and through many dangers about England, he at length found an opportunity to imbark at Shoreham in Suſſex, for Newhaven

haven in France, where he arrived Octob. 2. following. Of the great number of prisoners taken, none of Quality suffered but the Earl of Derby, who was beheaded at Bolton in Lancashire, and Sir Tim. Fetherstone: Others of less note suffered at Chester, Shrewsbury, and other places. Nor did many of the Royalists themselves expect any better fortune in this expedition than what happened, as appears by Duke Hamiltons Letter to Sir William Crofts, taken among other papers a few days before the fight, to this purpose: 'We are all laughing at the ridiculousness of our condition, who having quit Scotland being scarce able to maintain it, yet we grasp at all, and nothing but all will satisfie us, or to lose all. I confess I cannot tell, whether our hopes or fears are greatest, but we have one stout argument, and that is despair, for we must now either shortly fight or dye. All the Rogues have left us, I will not say whether for fear or disloyalty, but all now with His Majesty, are such as will not dispute his commands. So that we see this undertaking was not the product of deliberate counsel, but of necessity and desperation.

This battel put a period to the Kings hopes of getting the Government by Arms, and on the other hand, secured to Cromwel all his former Conquests; the influence whereof, though acted in England, was great in Scotland, for their principal Nobility and souldiery being cut off, they were no longer able to bear up, but were soon reduced to the obedience of England. And Cromwel giving an account to the Parliament of this great success, he concludes his Letter by telling them, That this was a crowning Victory, which was afterward thought to proceed from the foresight of his future Greatness. This fight happened Sept. 3. 1651. that very day twelvemonth wherein the Scots received that fatal blow at Dunbar afore-mentioned. After the battel, Cromwel

ſtaid no longer than to ſee the Walls of Worceſter levelled to the ground, and the Ditches filled up with earth, to diſcover his averſion to the Inhabitants for receiving his Enemies into it, and Sept. 12. came to London, being met at Acton by the Parliament and their Speaker, the Lord Mayor of London, Aldermen and Recorder, and hundreds of others; to whom Steel the City Recorder made a Congratulatory Oration, extolling all his Victories and Exploits with the higheſt flights of Rhetorick, and applying to him the words of Pſalm 149, 'Let the 'high praiſes of God be in their mouth, and a two-'edged ſword in their hand, to execute vengeance 'upon the Heathen, and puniſhments upon the peo-'ple, to bind their Kings with chains, and their No-'bles with fetters of iron, to execute upon them 'the judgment written; this honour have all the 'Saints, praiſe ye the Lord. After which, he was conducted in triumph to his Houſe near White-hall, great number of Scotch priſoners coming after him, through Tuthill-fields to Weſtminſter, as Trophies of his Victories, and the Colours taken there, with thoſe at Dunbar, Weſtminſter, Preſton, were hung up in Weſtminſter-Hall. After a ſhort repoſe, General Cromwel, and Lieutenant General Lambert, went to take their places in Parliament, where they were entertained by the Speaker with a ſecond Congratulatory Oration, magnifying their courage and gallantry, and acknowledging the great obligation which the people of England were under toward them. The ſame day the Lord Mayor feaſted the General and his Officers, where mutual returns of kindneſs paſſed between them, to the ſatisfaction of both parties.

Oct. 14. 1651. Collonel Hayn with two Regiments of foot, and two Troops of Horſe, were ſhipp'd at Weymouth for reducing the Iſle of Jerſey, in eighty Veſſels, under the command of General Blake, who came

came to St. Owens Bay, where the ſhips running aground, the men leapt out, ſome to the middle, others up to the neck in water, and ran aſhoar, the enemy playing hard upon them with great and ſmall ſhot, and gave a hot charge with their Horſe; yet after half an hours diſpute they fled, and left behind them twelve cannon and ſome colours. After which, the Engliſh marched further into the Iſland, within ſight of Elizabeth Caſtle, under which was a Fort called St. Albans Tower, where were fourteen Guns, which upon ſummons was delivered, and ſo was Orgueil caſtle, and ſoon after Elizabeth caſtle, upon very good terms to the Garriſon, and Governour Sir George Cartaret, becauſe of its great ſtrength. The Iſle of Man was likewiſe reduced in a ſhort time, with the caſtles of Peele and Ruſhen, both very ſtrong, and almoſt impregnable (as well as Cornet caſtle in the Iſle of Guernſey) if the beſieged had had reſolution to defend them. About this time died Admiral Popham, and Henry Ireton, Son-in-law to Oliver Cromwel, at Lymerick, which Kingdom in a little while after was wholly ſubdued, and brought under the obedience of the Government of England.

The Parliament now paſſed two or three conſiderable Acts, one for Incorporating Scotland into one Common-wealth with England; another of Oblivion and free pardon; a third to determine the Seſſion of this Parliament on Nov. 3. 1654. a fourth for the increaſe of ſhipping, and incouragement of Navigation, wherein was enacted, 'That no Goods or Commodities of the growth or manufacture of any places, in Aſia, Africa, America, or Europe, ſhould be imported into England, Ireland, or any of the Territories thereof, but only in Engliſh ſhips, under the penalty of forfeiting the Goods and Ships: And that no Goods whatſoever ſhall be brought in, unleſs they be ſhip'd from the places of their

‘ growth and manufacture only. Alſo that no Fiſh, ‘ or Oyl made of Fiſh or Whale-bone, ſhall be im- ‘ ported, but only ſuch as ſhall be caught in Veſſels ‘ belonging to the Engliſh. Laſtly, that no kinds of ‘ ſalted fiſh, from Feb. 1. 1653. ſhall be exported ‘ in any other ſave Engliſh Veſſels, with ſeveral ‘ other exceptions and proviſoes, in reference to ‘ Eaſt-India Goods, and of commodities from Tur- ‘ ky, Spain and Portugal.

This laſt Act was very grateful to the Merchants and Seamen, but did extreamly ſurprize and diſturb the Hollanders, as judging it would cauſe a vaſt diminution in their Trade, which with ſo much advantage they had long driven, to the loſs and detriment of the Engliſh Nation; who thereupon ſent Ambaſſadors to deſire it might be repealed, but not ſucceeding herein, they began to diſpute our ancient right of the Flag in the Britiſh Seas, by refuſing to ſtrike ſail to our Men of War, which occaſioned a breach between the two Republicks, for in May 1652. Admiral Trump, with about forty two ſail of Dutch ſhips, was diſcovered on the back of the Goodwin Sands, bearing toward Dover Road: Major Brown being near with a ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips, ſent the Grey-hound frigate to ſpeak with them, to whom they ſtruck their Top-ſail, ſaying, They came with a meſſage from Admiral Trump, to our commander in chief, and coming aboard, ſaid, That the great North winds had forced them farther South than they intended, being compelled to ride ſome days off Dunkirk, where they had loſt divers Anchors and Cables, profeſſing they intended no injury to the Engliſh Nation. General Blake, who was Weſtward with the reſt of the Engliſh Fleet, having ſpeedy advice of this paſſage, haſtened toward them, and next morning, May 19. ſaw them at Anchor in Dover Road, and being within three Leagues of them, they ſtood Eaſtward, and received an Expreſs from the

the *States*, upon which they bore directly up to our Fleet, Van Trump being headmoſt; whereupon, Blake ſhot three Guns without Ball at his Flag, and Trump anſwered with a Gun on the averſe ſide of the ſhip, ſignifying a diſdain, and inſtead of ſtriking his Topſail, hung out a red flag, which was the ſignal for his whole fleet, and gave General Blake a broadſide. The fight continued four hours, till Night parted them, in which one Dutch ſhip was ſunk, and another of thirty Guns taken, with the Captains of both, and about one hundred and fifty priſoners. Of the Engliſh about ten were ſlain, and forty wounded; the Engliſh Admiral was much damaged in her Maſts, Sails, Rigging, and Hull, but the reſt of the Fleet had inconſiderable loſs.

This attempt of the Hollanders, while we were upon Treaty, ſo incenſed the Parliament, that all the Addreſſes and Overtures of their Ambaſſadors, and the ſending hither two more, could not appeaſe them; yea, though they by ſeveral papers endeavoured to excuſe it, alledging, 'That the unhappy 'fight between the ſhips of both Common-wealths, 'happened without the knowledge, and againſt the 'wills of the *States*, taking God the ſearcher of mens 'hearts to witneſs the ſame, and that with grief and 'aſtoniſhment they received the fatal News of that 'unhappy raſh action, and thereupon conſulted 'about a remedy to this raw and bloody wound, by 'appointing a ſolemn meeting of all the Provinces, 'whereby they doubted not (by Gods favour) to 'remove not only the outward, but inward cauſe of 'all further differences, for the benefit of both Nations, and to avoid the deteſtable ſhedding of 'Chriſtian blood, ſo much deſired by their Enemies, 'and therefore beſeech the Council of *State*, by the 'pledges of common Religion and Liberty, to do 'nothing out of heat, which afterward with vain 'wiſhes can never be recalled; which they deſire

'the more because their ships of War and Merchandize are detained in the English Ports.

To this the Parliament replied, 'That calling to 'mind the demonstrations of friendship and good 'correspondence, which they have always discovered toward the States General, during all the troubles in England, they are much surprized at such 'unsuitable returns, especially at the acts of Hostility, lately committed in the very Roads of England, upon the ships of this Common-wealth; 'and though they would willingly believe that the 'late Engagements of the Fleets happened without 'their knowledge or consent, yet when they consider how disagreeable the actions of that State, and their Officers at Sea have been, in the midst of a 'Treaty offered by themselves, and managed here 'by their Ambassadors, and the extraordinary preparation of one hundred and fifty ships, without 'any visible occasion, and the Instructions given by 'the States to their commanders at Sea, they have 'too much cause to believe that the States General design, by force, to Usurp the known Right of 'England in the Seas, to destroy the Fleets that 'are (under God) their Walls and Bulwarks, and 'thereby expose the Nation to be Invaded at pleasure, as by their late action they have attempted to do: Therefore the Parliament think themselves 'obliged to indeavour (by Gods assistance) to seek 'reparations for the wrongs already suffered, and 'security against any such attempts for the future, 'yet still desiring that all differences, if possible, 'may be peaceably and amicably composed.

'This answer quite broke off the Treaty, and the Ambassadors having had audience of the Parliament, took their leaves and departed.

And now these mighty States prepare to ingage each other, and accordingly General Blake, with a gallant Fleet, advanced North towards the Isles of Orkney,

Orkney, to ſeize all Veſſels that were fiſhing there, who took twelve Dutch Men of War that were guarding the Buſſes, but diſcharged moſt of the Buſſes; and Sir George Ayſcough with his ſquadron, being left to guard the narrow Seas, diſcovered about thirty Dutch ſhips between Dover and Calice, of which ten were taken and burnt, the reſt run aſhoar on the Coaſts of France. Many other Dutch and French Prizes were daily taken. Thence Sir George Ayſcough ſailed Weſt, to ſeek out the Dutch Fleet, and Convoy home ſome Merchant-men from Plymouth; and being within ſeven or eight Leagues of Plymouth, he had advice of them, whereupon he reſolved to ſtand over to the Coaſt of France, and next day, Aug. 16. 1652. had ſight of them, being about ſixty ſail of Men of War, and thirty Merchant men; the Engliſh were but thirty eight ſail, four Fireſhips, and four Advice-ſhips, yet they reſolved to ingage the Enemy: Sir George Ayſcough and ſix other Frigates, charged through the whole Dutch Fleet, receiving much damage in their Maſts, Hulls, Sails and Rigging, yet they tack'd about, and charged them all again till dark Night, and had not ſome Engliſh Captains been deficient in their duty, they had probably deſtroyed their whole Navy. In this Ingagement ſome few Engliſh were ſlain and wounded, and three Captains; a Fireſhip of theirs was ſunk, with two other ſhips, but the darkneſs of the Night concealed their other loſſes, who ſtood away for the Coaſts of France, and the Engliſh for Plymouth to repair.

During this fight, Blake came from the North into the Downs, and took ſix rich Dutch Prizes, ſending ſome Frigates to reinforce Ayſcough, and ſoon after Captain Pen, with his ſquadron, hovering on the Coaſts of France, ſurprized ſix ſtout Men of War more, now returned from the Venetian ſervice, and richly laden. Sept. 5. General Blake riding in

the Downs, had notice of a French Fleet in Calice Road, to whom he made up and chaſed them as far as they durſt for the ſands of Dunkirk, taking moſt of them, being ten Men of War between thirty one and twenty eight Guns, and ſix Fireſhips: This Fleet was to take in proviſions at Calice, for the relief of Dunkirk, then beſieged by the Spaniards, who being prevented of this ſuccour, ſoon after ſurrendred, as alſo Graveling. Sept. 27. General Blake diſcovered about ſixty ſail of Dutch Men of War on the back of Goodwinſands, commanded by Admiral de Wit; next day, Blake with his Fleet bore in among them, but being upon a ſand called the Kentiſh knock, under which the Dutch had purpoſely ſecured themſelves, four of our chief Ships were on ground, but ſoon got off, and reſolved to ingage them, but the wind prevented them from coming up, yet with much ado, got next day within ſhot, upon which the Dutch ſet up their main ſails and ran for it, whom ten Frigates chaſed till Night, and next day purſued them till they had ſight of Weſt Gabel in Zealand, and ſaw them run into Goree; upon which, the Engliſh fearing to ſail further upon the Holland coaſt, returned back. In this skirmiſh, the Dutch Rere-Admiral was loſt, with a Fly-boat that towed her, and many men killed; about forty Engliſh were ſlain, and as many wounded.

The War between theſe two States reached to the Mediterranean Sea, whither the Engliſh had ſent ſeveral Frigates to ſecure the Merchants ſhips from the Privateers of Toulon and Marſeilles, and a ſquadron of four ſail, with three Smyrna ſhips under their convoy, happened to meet with eleven Dutch men of War, who having ſuch great advantage, preſently fell upon them, but met with ſtout reſiſtance, two of their main-top maſts being ſhot down, and one of their ſhips fired but quench'd again. The Phœnix, a ſtout ſhip of forty five Guns, was taken by the Dutch, the

the Paragon loſt twenty ſeven men, and had about ſixty wounded; the Elizabeth had only two Barrels of powder left, yet in deſpight of the enemy, they brought their Merchants ſafe into Porto Congone, near the Iſle of Corſica, where the fight was. The Dutch much gloried in this ſmall ſucceſs, though they obtained it dearly, and more by their number than valour, the Engliſh never giving over while they had men or ammunition.

The Hollanders extreamly concerned at the continual loſs of their ſhips, uſed their utmoſt induſtry in fitting out a Fleet, though it were in December, and the twentieth of that month, appeared on the back of the Goodwin with Ninety men of War, and ten Fireſhips. The Engliſh under General Blake were but forty two, and not half Man'd, moſt of the great ſhips being laid up, yet they reſolved to ingage them, and accordingly, December 30. both Fleets met, the Engliſh having the Weather-gage, and as few as they were, ſeveral of them never came up pretending want of men, ſo that the ſtreſs of the fight lay upon a few who were to encounter the whole Dutch Fleet. The Van-guard and the Victory, ingaged twenty of the Hollanders, from firſt to laſt, and yet got clear of them all. The Garland and Bonadventure were taken, and Blake going to relieve the firſt, had his fore-maſt ſhot by the board, was twice boarded, and yet got off, as did all the reſt but thoſe two afore-mentioned; and ſoon after, two Merchant-ſhips fell into the enemies hands. Blake with his Fleet withdrew into Lee-Road to repair, and the Dutch boaſted of this Victory, by their Ambaſſadors, in all the Courts of Chriſtendom.

But this ſmall loſs did only rouze and awaken the Engliſh courage, who thought on nothing but Revenge; and to incourage them, the Parliament ordered the Seamens wages to be raiſed, from eighteen

the other, and so was soon burnt. The loss of these five *Ships*, was the greatest damage the English sustained since the War began, and was done in the sight of Captain *Boddily* and nine English frigates, who did not in the least assist them; for which they were branded with Cowardice and Treachery.

At this time the King of Portugal, unable to resist the power of the English at Sea, sent over an Extraordinary Ambassador to conclude a peace, and to give satisfaction for the Merchants losses. An Agent was likewise sent from the *French* King, desiring the release of his *Ships* taken going for the relief of *Dunkirk*, and to have a right understanding between the two Republicks. And on the other side, four *Deputies* were sent from the Prince of Conde, to crave aid against Cardinal Mazarine and his party, who had strictly besieged the City of *Bordeaux*; but all mediation proved ineffectual, the breach being too great between the two States to be easily cemented. Other Nations likewise endeavoured to be Mediators between England and Holland, as the Queen of Sweden, the Cantons of Switzerland, the Imperial Cities of Lubeck and Hamburgh, but all was fruitless.

This was the posture of the Civil and Military affairs of this Nation, when General Cromwel, with Major General Lambert, Harrison, and seven or eight Officers more, came to the House of Commons, April 23. 1653. with about twelve souldiers, whom he ordered to wait at the door, and being entred, spake to this purpose: 'You have sufficiently deluded the people, and provided for your own and your Relations benefits, possessing these seats under a pretence of forming a Common-wealth, of reforming the Laws, and promoting the publick Good, whereby you have imposed upon the Kingdom, whilst in the mean time you have only Invaded the goods of the Common-wealth, have thrust

'thruſt your ſelves and Relations into the gainfulleſt, 'and moſt honourable Offices, only to nouriſh Lux-'ury and Impiety. Then ſtamping on the ground, which was a ſign to the ſouldiers at the door, 'For 'ſhame (ſays he) riſe quickly hence, and give 'place to thoſe that are honeſter, and will better 'perform their Truſts. Upon which, they all be-gan to move, ſome by force or fear, others murmu-ring; but the Speaker not riſing readily out of the Chair, Major General Harriſon lent him his hand, and gently lifted him out. General Cromwel alſo commanded that bauble, as he called the Mace, to be taken away. When the Members were all de-parted, the doors were lock'd up, and Guards ſet up-on them, and all the Avenues of the Houſe. And thus was this mighty parliament diſſolved or diſmiſſed (after near twelve years ſitting, and after having tranſacted ſo many great affairs) and this without op-poſition or diſturbance; their powers transferred in-to the hands of the Souldiery, and their Names re-proached and vilified by the common people: But to ſatisfie the Nation, General Cromwel, and his Officers, publiſhed a Declaration which they had prepared the day before, of the Reaſons of their proceedings, as followeth:

'Our intention is not, at this time, to give an ac-'count of the grounds which firſt moved us to take 'up Arms, and ingage our lives, and all that was 'dear unto us in this Cauſe, nor to mind in this 'Declaration the various diſpenſations through which 'Divine Providence hath led us, or the Witneſs the 'Lord hath born, and the many ſignal Teſtimonies 'he hath given to the ſincere endeavours of his un-'worthy Servants, whilſt they were conteſting with 'many and great difficulties, as well in the Wars, 'as other Tranſactions in the three Nations, being 'neceſſitated in the defence of the ſame Cauſe, they

'firſt

'first asserted, to have recourse unto extraordinary 'actions, the same being evident by former Declara- 'tions published on that behalf. And after God 'was pleased, not only to reduce Ireland, and give 'in Scotland, but so marvelously to appear for his 'people at Worcester, that these Nations were re- 'duced to a degree of peace, and England to per- 'fect quiet, whereby the parliament had opportu- 'nity to give the people the Harvest of all their la- 'bour, blood and treasure, and to settle a due li- 'berty, in reference to Civil and Spiritual things, 'whereunto they were obliged by their duty and in- 'gagements, and those great and wonderful things 'God hath wrought for them, yet they made so 'little progress therein, that it was a matter of much 'grief to the good people of the Land; who there- 'upon, applied themselves to the Army, who '(though unwilling to meddle with the Civil Au- 'thority) agreed that such Officers as were Mem- 'bers of Parliament, should move them to proceed 'vigorously in reforming what was amiss in the 'Common-wealth, and in settling it upon a founda- 'tion of Justice and Righteousness: Which being 'done, it was hoped the Parliament would have an- 'swered their expectations,

'But finding the contrary, they renewed their 'desires in an humble Petition in August 1652. 'which produced no considerable effect, nor was 'any such progress made therein, as might imply 'their real intentions to accomplish what was Peti- 'tioned for, but rather an averseness to the things 'themselves, with much bitterness and opposition 'to the people of God, and his spirit acting in them, 'insomuch that the Godly party in Parliament were 'rendred of no further use than to countenance 'the ends of a corrupt party, for effecting the de- 'sire they had of perpetuating themselves in the 'Supream Government. For which purpose, the

'said

'ſaid party long oppoſed, and frequently declared 'themſelves againſt having a new Repreſentative, 'and when they ſaw themſelves neceſſitated to take 'this Bill into conſideration, they reſolved to 'make uſe of it to recruit the Houſe with perſons 'of the ſame ſpirit and temper, thereby to perpe-'tuate their owne ſitting; which intention, divers of 'the activeſt among them did manifeſt, labouring 'to perſwade others to a conſent therein, and the 'better to effect this, divers petitions preparing 'from ſeveral Counties, for the continuance of this 'Parliament, were incouraged, if not ſet on foot by 'many of them.

'For obviating theſe evils, the Officers of the Ar-'my obtained ſeveral meetings with ſome of the 'Parliament, to conſider what remedy might be ap-'plied to prevent the ſame, but ſuch endeavours 'proving ineffectual, it became evident that this 'Parliament, through the corruption of ſome, the 'jealouſie of others, and the non-attendance of 'many, would never anſwer thoſe ends, which 'God, his people, and the whole Nation expected 'from them, but that this Cauſe which God had ſo 'greatly bleſſed, muſt needs languiſh under their 'hands, and by degrees be loſt, and the lives, liber-'ties, and comforts of his people, be delivered in-'to their enemies hands.

'All which being ſadly and ſeriouſly conſidered 'by the honeſt people of the Nation, as well as by 'the Army, it ſeemed a duty incumbent upon us, 'who had ſeen ſo much of the power and preſence 'of God, to conſider of ſome effectual means where-'by to eſtabliſh Righteouſneſs and Peace in theſe 'Nations.

'And after much debate, it was judged neceſſary 'that the ſupream Government ſhould be by the 'Parliament devolved upon known perſons, fearing 'God, and of approved Integrity; and the Govern-

'ment

ment of the Common-wealth committed to them for a time, as the moſt hopeful way to incourage and countenance all Gods people, reform the Law, and adminiſter Juſtice impartially, hoping thereby the people may forget Monarchy, and underſtanding their true Election of ſucceſſive Parliaments, may have the Government ſettled upon a true Baſis, without hazard to this glorious Cauſe, or neceſſitating to keep up Armies for the defence of the ſame.

'And being ſtill reſolved to uſe all means poſſible to avoid extraordinary courſes, we prevailed with about twenty Members of Parliament to give us a conference, with whom we freely and calmly debated the Neceſſity and Juſtice of our propoſals in that behalf, and did evidence that thoſe, and not the Act under their conſideration, would moſt probably bring forth ſomething anſwerable to that work, the foundation whereof God hath laid, and is now carrying on in the World.

'The which notwithſtanding, found no acceptance, but inſtead thereof it was offered, that the way was to continue ſtill this preſent Parliament, as being that from which we might reaſonably expect all good things. And this being vehemently inſiſted upon, did much confirm us in our apprehenſions, that not any love to a Repreſentative, but the making uſe thereof to recruit, and ſo to perpetuate themſelves, was their aim.

'They being plainly dealt with about this, and told, That neither the Nation, the honeſt Intereſt, nor we our ſelves, would be deluded by ſuch dealings, they did agree to meet again the next day in the Afternoon, for mutual ſatisfaction; it being conſented to by the Members preſent, that endeavours ſhould be uſed, that nothing in the mean time ſhould be done in Parliament, that might exclude or fruſtrate the propoſals before-mentioned.

'Notwith-

'Notwithstanding this, the next morning the 'Parliament did make more haste than usual in carrying on their said Act, being helped on therein 'by some of the persons ingaged to us the Night 'before, none of them which were then present 'endeavouring to oppose the same, and being ready to put the main Question for consumating the 'said Act, whereby our foresaid proposals would 'have been rendred void, and the way of bringing 'them into a fair and full debate of Parliament 'obstructed.

'For preventing whereof, and all the sad and 'evil consequences which must upon the grounds 'aforesaid have ensued, and whereby at one blow 'the Interest of all honest men, and of this glorious Cause, had been indangered to be laid in the 'dust, and these Nations imbroiled in new troubles, 'at a time when our Enemies abroad are watching 'all opportunities against us, and some of them actually engaged in War with us, we have been necessitated, though with much reluctancy, to put 'an end to this parliament, which yet we have done, 'we hope, out of an honest heart, preferring this 'Cause above our Names, Families, Lives or Interests, how dear soever, with clear intentions, and 'real purposes of heart, to call to the Government 'persons of approved fidelity and honesty, believing 'that as none wise will expect to gather Thistles of 'Thorns, so good men will hope, that if persons so 'qualified be chosen, the fruits of a Just and Righteous Reformation, so long prayed for, and wished 'for, will, by the blessing of God, be in due time 'obtained, to the refreshing of all those good hearts 'who have been panting after these things.

'Much more might have been said, if it had been 'our desire to justifie our selves by aspersing others, 'and raking into the mis-government of affairs, 'but we shall conclude with this, That as we have

'been

'been led by Neceſſity and Providence to act as we 'have done, even above and beyond even our own 'thoughts and deſires, ſo we ſhall and do, in that 'of this great work which is behind, put our ſelves 'wholly upon the Lord for a bleſſing. profeſſing we 'look not to ſtand one day without his ſupport, 'much leſs to bring to paſs one of the things men-'tioned and deſired without his aſſiſtance; and 'therefore do ſolemnly deſire and expect, That all 'men, as they would not provoke the Lord to their 'own deſtruction, would wait for ſuch an iſſue as 'he ſhould bring forth, and to follow their buſineſs 'with peaceable ſpirits, wherein we promiſe them 'protection by his aſſiſtance.

'And for thoſe who profeſs their fear and love 'to the Name of God, that ſeeing in a great mea-'ſure for their ſakes, and for righteouſneſs ſake, we 'have taken our lives in our hands to do theſe 'things, they would be inſtant with the Lord day 'and night on our behalfs, that we may obtain 'grace from him: And ſeeing we have made ſo of-'ten mention of his Name, that we may not do the 'leaſt diſhonour thereto, which indeed would be 'our confuſion, and a ſtain to the whole profeſſion 'of godlineſs.

'We beſeech them alſo to live in all humility, 'meekneſs, righteouſneſs, and love towards ano-'ther, and towards all men, that ſo we may put to 'ſilence the Ignorance of the fooliſh that falſly ac-'cuſe them, and to know that the late great and glo-'rious Diſpenſations wherein the Lord hath ſo glo-'rioufly appeared, in bringing forth theſe things 'by the travel and blood of his Children, ought ſo 'to oblige them, ſo to walk in the wiſdom and love 'of Chriſt, as may cauſe others to honour their ho-'ly profeſſion, becauſe they ſee Chriſt to be in them 'of a truth.

'We do further propoſe before it be long, more

'particularly

'particularly to ſhew the grounds of our proceed-
'ings, and the reaſons of this late great action and
'change, which in this we have but hinted at.

'And we do laſtly declare, That all Judges, She-
'riffs, Juſtices of Peace, Mayors, Bayliffs, Com-
'mittees, and all other Civil Officers, and publick
'Miniſters whatſoever, within the Common-wealth,
'or any parts thereof, do proceed in their reſpective
'places and Offices, and all perſons whatſoever are
'to give Obedience to them, as fully as when the
'Parliament was ſitting.

Signed in the Name, and by the appointment of his Excellency the Lord General, and his Council of Officers.

White-Hall, April 22, 1653. William Malyn, Secret.

This Declaration being publiſhed throughout the Nation, was aſſented to by moſt of the chief Officers both by Sea and Land, but for ſatisfaction of the Civil Magiſtrates, and to prevent diſturbance, this ſecond Declaration was ſoon after publiſhed.

'Whereas the Parliament being diſſolved, per-
'ſons of approved fidelity and honeſty, and ac-
'cording to the late Declaration of the 22d. inſtant,
'to be called from ſeveral parts of this Common-
'wealth, to the ſupream Authority, and although
'effectual proceedings are, and have been had for
'perfecting thoſe reſolutions, yet ſome convenient
'time being required for the aſſembling of thoſe
'perſons, it hath been found neceſſary, for prevent-
'ing the miſchiefs and inconveniences which may
'ariſe in the mean while to the publick affairs, that
'a Council of State be conſtituted to take care of,
'and intend the peace, ſafety, and preſent manage-
'ment

'ment of the affairs of the Common-wealth; which 'being ſettled accordingly, the ſame is hereby de-'clared and publiſhed, to the end all perſons may 'take notice thereof, and in their ſeveral places and 'ſtations demean themſelves peaceably, giving obe-'dience to the Laws of the Nation as heretofore, in 'the exerciſe and adminiſtration whereof, as endea-'vours ſhall be uſed, that no oppreſſion or wrong 'be done to the people; ſo a ſtrict account will be 'required of all ſuch as ſhall do any thing to endan-'ger the publick peace and quiet, upon any pretence 'whatſoever.

April 30. 1653. O. Cromwel.

The Hollanders hoped to reap advantage from theſe Revolutions, but found themſelves miſtaken, the Naval affairs being ſtill managed with as much application as before, as they ſoon felt to their coſt; for the Dutch having a great Fleet of Merchants ſhips Outward bound, durſt not venture through the channel, but with a Fleet of about Ninety Men of War, convoyed them by the North of *Scotland* toward the ſound, and there met with another Fleet of Merchant men Homeward bound, from Ruſſia, Eaſt-India, and France, whom they brought home ſafe, and hearing the Engliſh Fleet was Northwards came into the Downs, taking two or three ſmall Veſſels, and made ſome ſhot into Dover Town, boaſting the Engliſh Fleet was loſt, and that they would ſend a Hue and Cry after them, when on a ſudden, the Engliſh Navy arrived from the North, and came into Yarmouth-Road.

June 1. Being at Anchor in Sole-Bay, they diſcovered two Dutch Galliot Hoyſes, to whom chaſe was given

given till the whole Dutch Fleet was diſcovered, but the weather proving dark, they loſt ſight of them. June 3. Our Fleet being at Anchor off the Gober, diſcovered the Enemy about two Leagues to Leeward, being about 100 ſail, and weighed toward them; about Noon both Fleets were Ingaged, which for ſome hours were very ſharp, ſo that in the Evening the Dutch bore right away before the wind. Next day at Noon they ingaged again, and after four hours diſpute, the Hollanders would have got away, but the wind freſhing Weſterly, the Engliſh bore in ſo hard among them, that they took eleven Men of War, two water Hoys, ſix Captains, fifteen hundred priſoners, and ſunk ſix men of War more; the reſt eſcaped by the darkneſs of the Night and the Flatts. The Engliſh loſt General Dean one of their Admirals, who was killed with a great ſhot the firſt day, with one Captain, and about one hundred and fifty men more, and two hundred and forty wounded, but not one ſhip was loſt. The Engliſh were much incouraged by General Blakes coming in, during the fight, with ſixteen ſail of ſtout men of War. The Dutch having in the Night got into the Wielings, the Flye and Texel, it was reſolved to ſail as near the Coaſt as was ſafe, where the Engliſh lay for ſome time, taking many prizes, to the great damage of the Hollanders, whoſe ſhips could neither go in or out, from any one Port, to join together to oppoſe them.

General Cromwel, and his Council of Officers, having conſidered of the qualifications of the next Parliament, and made a Liſt of thoſe perſons in England, Scotland and Ireland, to whom they deſigned to commit the Legiſlative power, Warrants were iſſued out for them to appear at the Council Chamber at White-Hall, July 4. 1653. to this effect:

'Forasmuch as upon the dissolution of the late 'Parliament, it became necessary that the peace, 'safety, and good Government of this Common-'wealth should be provided for, and in order there-'unto, divers persons fearing God, and of appro-'ved fidelity and honesty, are by my self, with 'the advice of my Council of Officers, Nomina-'ted, to whom the great charge and trust, of so 'weighty affairs is to be committed; and having 'good assurance of your love to, and courage for 'God, and the Interest of his Cause, and the good 'people of this Common-wealth,

'I Oliver Cromwel, Captain General, and Com-'mander in chief of all the Armies and Forces rai-'sed, or to be raised within this Common-wealth, 'do hereby summon and require you, being the 'persons Nominated, personally to be, and ap-'pear, at the Council-Chamber, commonly called 'or known by the Name of the Council-Chamber 'at White Hall, within the City of Westminster, 'upon the fourth day of July next, ensuing the 'date hereof, then and there to take upon you the 'said Trust, unto which you are hereby called and 'appointed, to serve as a Member for the County of 'And hereby you are not to fail. Given 'under my Hand and Seal the eighth day of June, '1653.

O. Cromwel.

July 4. The persons summoned to the number of an hundred forty four, out of the three Kingdoms, met accordingly at the Council-Chamber at White-Hall, where was General Cromwel and several of his Officers, who made a Speech to them, recounting, 'The many wonderful mercies of God to this Na-'tion, and the continued series of Providences by

'which

'which he had appeared in carrying on this Cauſe, 'and bringing affairs into the preſent condition; 'with their progreſs ſince the famous victory at 'Worceſter, and the actings of the Army there-'upon, after divers applications to the Parliament, 'and waiting upon them, with the grounds and ne-'ceſſity of their diſſolving, which he declared to be 'for the preſervation of this Cauſe, and the intereſt 'of all honeſt men, who have been ingaged therein. 'He then told them of the clearneſs of the Call 'given to the Members then preſent, to take upon 'them the ſupream Authority, and from the Scrip-'tures exhorted them to their duty, deſiring that a 'tenderneſs might be uſed toward all conſcientious 'perſons of what Judgment ſoever.

After which, General Cromwel produced an Inſtrument under his own Hand and Seal, whereby he did, with the advice of his Officers, devolve and intruſt the ſupream Authority and Government of the Common-wealth, into the hands of the perſons there met, who, or any forty of them, were to be held and acknowledged the ſupream Authority of the Nation, unto whom all perſons within the ſame, and the Territories thereto belonging, were to yield obedience and ſubjection, and that they ſhould ſit no longer than Nov. 3. 1654. and three months before their diſſolution, they were to make choice of other perſons to ſucceed them, who were not to ſit above twelve months, and then to provide for a ſucceſſion of Government. Which Inſtruction being delivered them, the General commended them to God, himſelf with his Officers withdrew. From thence the Members forthwith adjourned to the Parliament-Houſe at Weſtminſter, and firſt conſidered what Title to take to themſelves, and after three days debate, they reſolved they would be called, The Parliament of the Common-wealth of England, and choſe Mr. Rous for their Speaker. About

About this time John Lilburn, being a few months before baniſhed by an Act of the laſt Parliament, for certain crimes he was charged with, took occaſion, upon this change of Government, to return into England, and caſt himſelf upon General Cromwel, craving his protection in ſeveral publick Addreſſes, who declining to meddle in this affair, left him to the Law, and he was committed to Newgate, and the next Seſſions being brought to the Old-Baily, he firſt demanded Council, which was granted him: Next day he refuſed to put in his Plea, unleſs he might have a Copy of his Indictment, which was likewiſe admitted. Next day he delivered in his Bill of Exceptions to the Indictment; after that he demanded a Copy of the Judgment given againſt him in Parliament, together with the Act: Then he joined iſſue, and made his defence for ſeveral hours, and about twelve at Night, the Jury brought him in Not Guilty; but he was ſent back to Newgate, and thence to the Tower, where he continued ſome time, and then turned Quaker, and dying ſoon after, was buried from the Bull and Mouth Meeting place near Alderſgate, with a numerous company of that party attending him to his Grave.

As to the condition of Scotland at this time, the Engliſh had taken moſt of their ſtrong Towns, Forts, and Caſtles, in the Low-lands, yet the High-landers made divers Incurſions upon them, robbing and killing many, and then returned to their inacceſſible Faſtneſſes, where they could not be purſued, being commanded by the Lords Glencarn, Athol, Seaforth, and others; the laſt of whom ſent a ſummons to a Ship that lay at Anchor at Lewis-Iſland, (having before ſurprized ſeven or eight men that went aſhoar for proviſions) a Copy of which follows:

'Being incited, not only by conſcience, but honour, 'to ſtand firm to the principles of loyalty; but alſo 'diſdaining, even in rational Intereſt, to ſtoop to ſuch

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'a wavering and ſerviile power as now Ruleth, I 'have laid hold on thoſe men come aſhoar as pro- 'moting the ſame: Wherefore I ſummon you to de- 'liver your Veſſel for His Majeſties ſervice, and being 'certainly perſwaded that all, or moſt part of you, 'are with grief of heart imployed in ſuch ſervice, I 'aſſure all that will voluntarily ſhun the unneceſſary 'effuſion of blood by that ſurrender, ſhall have ſuch 'fair Quarter as is fitting for me to grant, and as your 'ſeveral conditions do require; and according to 'your demeanours herein, you may expect to find 'me your friend accordingly.

For the Captain, Maſter and Mariners of the Fortune. Seaforth.

But the Captain did not think fit to obey this ſummons, ſailing away, and leaving his men behind. And thus they continued awhile in expectation of ſupplies of men from Lieutenant Gen. Midleton, and the Low Countries; but in the mean time, a conſiderable party under the E. of Glencarn were defeated, himſelf hardly eſcaping, and afterward ſeveral other parties by the Engliſh, ſo that they could not join. At length Midleton arrived from Holland with the expected proviſions of War, and a Commiſſion to be General, and Monroe Lieutenant General; which ſo incenſed Glencarn, that he who had imployed his utmoſt intereſt in raiſing men, muſt now be commanded by others, that they quarrelled among themſelves. Glencarn was contented to be Lt. General, but Monro would not agree to it, whereupon a Duel was fought between them, in which Monro being wounded and diſarmed, deſerted the ſervice with about 500 Gentlemen, and agreed with the Governour of Dunbarton to live peaceably at home; others did the like, yet Midleton ſtood out ſtill, till firſt in Argyle, and then at Loughary, he was by Gen. Monk, and Coll. Morgan,

wholly overthrown, and afterward returned to Holland; the Assembly of the Kirk was likewise dissolved by Coll. Morgan, and the Clergy subjected.

As for Ireland, it was by the English arms brought to such a condition, as there was no fear of disturbance for the future, only some few Tories kept themselves in some inaccessible places, and sometimes made irruptions to steal and plunder. An high Court of Justice was erected there, of which Cook was President, by whom many Irish, and some of their ancient Nobility, were sentenced and executed for the bloody Massacre committed upon the Protestants in 1641. and about 14000 sold to the King of Spain, and many transported into other Countries, the rest being driven into the Province of Connaught, out of which, upon pain of death, they were not to stir without leave. The other three Provinces, Ulster, Munster, and Lenster, were allotted to the English, and all forfeited Lands divided among such Adventurers as had advanced money toward the management of the Irish affairs, and for satisfaction of the souldiers arrears. General Fleetwood succeeded Ireton as Lord Governor of Ireland, by order of Gen. Cromwel, who had married his eldest Daughter Bridget, the Widow of Ireton.

The Hollanders finding little advantage by the war with the English, sent four Commissioners hither to begin a Treaty; during which there was no cessation of arms, for at the same time a remarkable battel happened between the two Navies, July 29. 1653. The Scouts discovered a Dutch Fleet from the Wielings of about 95 men of War, upon which the English made what sail they could after them, which the enemy perceiving stood away, yet about five in the evening, near 30 of the English ingaged, the rest of the Fleet being astern, so that they bore the whole brunt of that days fight till Night parted them; the Dutch were observed to send away their maimed Ships in the

the Night, and in the dark got by with their whole Fleet, in order to join 25 ſail of ſtout ſhips more from the Texel, which the Engliſh could not prevent becauſe of the foul weather. Next morning the Dutch, with theſe new recruits, fell upon the Engliſh Fleet in a gallant poſture, and fought couragiouſly from five in the morning till one after noon, both Fleets paſſing through, and endeavouring to burn, ſink, and deſtroy each other. At length, the Dutch went off with the loſs of ſome ſhips, either ſunk or burnt; the Garland, a ſtout man of War, taken formerly by the Dutch from us, was burnt by the VVorceſter: The Triumph and the Andrew were boarded by three Dutch Fireſhips, and had ſome damage in their ſails, but were quickly cleared. The Dutch obſerving themſelves decline, made away directly for the Texel, and the Engliſh being ſomewhat diſabled, and not daring to venture too near the Holland Coaſts, it was reſolved that the whole Fleet ſhould ſail for Sole Bay: The Engliſh Admirals in this fight were Gen. Blake and Gen. Monk; Pen was Vice-Admiral, and Lawſon Rere-Admiral. VVhen Monk with the Engliſh Fleet ſet ſail, and ſtood out to Sea, the Dutch ſuppoſed they fled for fear, which made one of the Captains deſire Van Trump to purſue, 'For, ſaith he, theſe 'Skellums dare not ſtand one broad-ſide from your 'Excellency, you may ſee them plainly running home, 'and therefore, my Lord, miſs not the opportunity. But Trump, who underſtood better, gave this ſhort reply, 'Sir, look to your charge, for were the ene-'my but 20 ſail they would never refuſe to fight us. The Engliſh had 300 ſlain in this battel, whereof ſeven were Captains, and 700 wounded, five of them Captains. The Dutch had about 30 ſhips ſunk and burnt, and their renowned Lord Admiral Van Trump was ſlain in the midſt of the fight, and out of the Dutch maimed ſhips that lay floating on the Sea, the Engliſh took ſix Captains, and about 1000 other

priſoners. This was the bloudieſt Ingagement that had yet happened between the two Nations, and for their valour and conduct, the Parliament ordered Gold chains to be given to Blake, Monk, Pen and Lawſon, as a mark of their favour, and other chains were beſtowed on the Flag Captains, and Medals of ſilver to the Officers of the Fleet. It was after known by Letters from Holland, that they loſt near ſix thouſand men in this battel.

The Parliament having ſate about five months, in which they made ſeveral Acts, one for Marriages before a Juſtice of Peace, another for relief of Priſoners, another againſt the High Court of Chancery, another for a Tax for ſix months, at 120000 *l.* per month, at length they were conſulting of an Act for taking away Tythes, a Committee was appointed to conſider of the matter, who brought in their report Dec. 10. 1653. 'That they thought it convenient that Commiſſioners be ſent into all the Counties, and inabled 'to eject ſcandalous and unable Miniſters, and alſo 'be impowered to ſettle able Miniſters in all void 'places: That ſuch as are, or ſhall be approved for 'publick preachers of the Goſpel, ſhall have and enjoy ſuch maintenance as is already ſettled by Law. 'That upon hearing and conſidering what hath been 'offered to the Committee touching propriety in 'Tythes, it is their opinion that they have a legal 'propriety in them.

The Parliament having ſpent ſeveral days in this report, put the Queſtion, Whether the Houſe doth agree with the Committee, which was carried in the Negative; whereupon, ſeveral heats and diviſions aroſe, inſomuch that Dec. 12. a Gentleman ſtood up and moved, 'That the ſitting of the Parliament, as 'then conſtituted, would not be for the good of the 'Common-wealth, and that therefore it was requiſite to deliver up to the L. Gen. Cromwel the pow-'ers which they received from him. This motion being

being ſeconded by ſeveral others, the Houſe riſe, and the Speaker Mr. Rouſe, with the Majority of the Members, did, by a writing under their hands, reſign their powers to Gen. Cromwel, at White-Hall, by their Speaker, who thanked them for the pains they had taken for the ſervice of the Common-wealth, though by a ſtrange ſpirit and perverſe principle in ſome of the Members, they had miſſed of their good intentions. Some of the Members continued ſtill ſitting in the Houſe, to whom Coll. White was ſent with a Guard of ſouldiers, and required them in the Name of the General to depart, for the Parliament was diſſolved, who replying the contrary, and that they were upon buſineſs, and ought not to be interrupted, he at length compelled them, though unwillingly, to leave the Houſe.

The Parliament having thus reſigned the power given them, the whole Authority, both Civil and Military of the three Nations, was concluded to be devolved into the hands of O. Cromwel, who calling a Council of Officers, with ſome others, to conſult of the ſettlement of the Government, they at length reſolved to have a Common-wealth in a ſingle perſon: That the perſon ſhould be O. Cromwel, Captain General of all the Forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland, alledging, That it was not Monarchy which was quarrell'd at, but the Male-adminiſtration and abuſes therein, by its prerogative being unlimited and arbitrary; all which would be avoided by circumſcribing it in a Protector and his Council, a new Inſtrument of Government, and the ſupream power of a Triennial Parliament, in whom, during their ſitting, the Soveraign Authority ſhould reſide. In purſuance whereof, a Council was appointed him to conſiſt of twenty, but fourteen only were named at preſent:

Lord Lambert,
L. Viſcount Liſle,
General Desborough,
Sir Gilbert Pickering,

Major Gen. Skippon,	Francis Rouſe, Eſq;
Sir Anth. Aſh. Cooper,	Rich. Major, Eſq;
Walt. Strickland, Eſq;	John Lamence, Eſq;
Sir Ch. Woolſey,	Coll. Ed. Montague,
Coll. Phil. Jones,	Coll. Will. Sydenham.

And the Inſtrument of Government deſigned to be the foundation of this new ſettlement, was to this effect:

'That the Title of O. Cromwel ſhould be Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging: That all proceedings ſhall run in the name and ſtyle of the Protector, and all Honours, Offices, and Titles to be derived from him: That he may pardon all offences but Treaſon and Murder: That the Militia, during the Parliament, ſhall be in his, and their hands, but in the intervals, only in his and his Councils, that he and his Council may make War and Peace with Foreign Princes: No new Laws to be made, nor old ones abrogated without conſent of Parliament: A Parliament to be called within ſix months, and afterwards every third year, and if need be oftner, which the Protector ſhall not diſſolve without conſent of Parliament till after five months: The Parliament of *England* to conſiſt of 400, to be choſen by more equal diſtributions in Counties and Burroughs: Of *Scotch*, thirty to be elected, and of *Ireland* as many: The Writs for Election to paſs under the *Seal* of the Common-wealth to the Sheriffs, and if the Protector omit, or deny it, then the Commiſſioners of the *Seal* ſhall be obliged, under pain of High Treaſon, to iſſue out ſuch Writs, and in caſe of failure in them, the High Sheriffs then to do it: That ſuch as are elected be returned into the Chancery by the chief Magiſtrates, Mayor, Sheriff or Bayliff, twenty days before the Seſſion: If the Sheriff, May-

'or

'or or Bayliff, make a falſe return, or any way pro-
'cure an undue Election, he ſhall be fined 2000 *l.*
'That none who have born arms againſt the Parlia-
'ment, Iriſh Rebels or Papiſts, ſhall be capable of be-
'ing elected, and in caſe they be elected, to forfeit
'two years Revenue, and three parts of their Goods:
'None are to be elected under the Age of 21 years,
'nor unleſs he be a man of good converſation: None
'to have Votes in Elections not worth 200 *l.*: That
'ſixty ſhall make a Quorum: The Protector, if need
'be, may call Parliaments in the intervals of the Tri-
'ennial ones: Thoſe Bills they make to be offered to
'the Protector, who refuſing to ſign them in 20 days,
'they are to paſs into Acts without his conſent: The
'Protector, with advice of his Council, in caſe of
'death, or breach of truſt, is to ſubſtitute new Privy
'Councellors: A competent Revenue ſhall be ſettled
'for maintaining 10000 Horſe and 15000 Foot, and
'the Navy not to be altered or leſſened without the
'advice of the Council, and upon the disbanding of
'them, the money to be brought into the Exche-
'quer for ſudden occaſions: No new Taxes nor Laws
'to be made without conſent in parliament: All for-
'feited Lands unſold to belong to the Protector: The
'Protectorate to be Elective, but the Royal Family
'to be excluded: Oliver Cromwel to be preſent Pro-
'tector: All the great Offices of the Common-wealth,
'ſuch as Chancellor, Keeper of the Seal, Governor
'of Ireland, Admiral, &c. if they become void in
'parliament time, to be ſupplied by their approba-
'tion, or in intervals of parliament, with the appro-
'bation of the Council: The Chriſtian Religion, as
'it is contained in the Holy Scriptures, to be the pub-
'lick profeſſion of the Nation, and thoſe that admi-
'niſter it to be maintained by the publick, but by
'ſome way more convenient, and leſs liable to envy
'than Tythes: None are to be compelled to conſent
'to the publick profeſſion by fine, or any puniſhment

'ever, but only by perſwaſion and arguments: None 'that profeſs Faith in Jeſus Chriſt are to be prohibi- 'ted the exerciſe of their Religion, provided he do 'not quarrel with, nor diſturb others, except the pa- 'piſts and prelatiſts, who are debarr'd that Licenſe: 'All Sales of Eſtates, made by parliament, to ſtand 'good: All Articles of War to be made good: And 'laſtly, the protector and his ſucceſſor, upon entring 'that charge, to ſwear to procure, by all means, the 'peace, quiet, and welfare of the Common-wealth, 'to obſerve theſe Articles, and to adminiſter all 'things in his power, according to the Laws, Statutes, 'and Cuſtoms of England.

After this, Dec. 16. 1653. the protector came from White-Hall to the Chancery Court at Weſtminſter, attended by the Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal of England, the Barons of the Exchequer, and Judges in their Robes, the Council of the Common-wealth, the L. Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder of London, in their ſcarlet Gowns, and many of the chief Officers of the Army. A Chair of State being ſet, the Protector ſtood on the left hand thereof uncovered, till the Inſtrument was read, which he ſubſcribed in the face of the Court, and then ſwore to perform as follows:

'I promiſe, in the preſence of God, not to violate 'or infringe the matters and things contained in the 'Inſtrument, but to obſerve, and cauſe the ſame to 'be obſerved, and in all things to the beſt of my un- 'derſtanding, will govern theſe Nations according to 'the Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtoms, and to ſeek their 'peace, and cauſe Juſtice and Law to be equally 'adminiſtred.

Hereupon he ſate down covered in the Chair, the Lords Commiſſioners then delivered him the Great Seal of England, and the Lord Mayor his Sword and Cap of maintenance, which he inſtantly returned: Then the Court roſe, and the Protector was attended back

back as before, to the Banquetting House at White-Hall, the Lord Mayor bare headed carrying the Sword before him, where an exhortation being made by Mr. Nicholas Lockier, one of his Chaplains, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Judges departed. And thus was the Protector confirmed in this high Dignity, tho' many of his Officers, and former admirers, were much discontented thereat, but to command obedience, the Council emitted the following Proclamation, which was published in England, Scotland and Ireland.

'Whereas the late Parliament dissolved themselves 'and resigned their powers and Authorities, the Go-'vernment by a Lord Protector, and successive elec-'tive parliaments is now established: And whereas 'Oliver Cromwel, Captain General of all the Forces 'of this Common-wealth, is declared Lord protector 'of the said Nations, and hath accepted thereof, We 'have therefore thought it necessary, as we hereby 'do, to make publication of the premises, and strict-'ly to charge and command all and every person and 'persons, of what quality and condition soever, in 'any of the said three Nations, to take notice hereof, 'and to conform and subject themselves to the Go-'vernment so established: And all Sheriffs, Mayors, 'Bayliffs, &c. are required to publish this proclama-'tion, to the end that none may have cause to pre-'tend ignorance in this behalf.

The Protector began his reign with seeming serenity, and when the different parties in Religion made their complaints to him against each other, he usually told them, 'That his power was no greater in the 'Nation than a Constables, which was to keep peace 'and quietness among all parties. And persuant to the power given him by the new Instrument, he supplies the several Courts at Westminster with the ablest Judges and Lawyers; and the City of London, to shew their concurrence to this great change, invite the Protector to Dinner at Grocers-Hall, Feb. 8. being

Aſhwedneſday, the Streets were railed to Temple-bar, the Livery-men ſtanding in their Gowns; he was met at Temple-bar by Alderman Vyner Lord Mayor, who delivered him the Sword, and receiving it again, bore it on Horſeback bare-headed before him all the way. After a Noble entertainment, he was ſerved with a Banquet; in the concluſion whereof he Knighted Sir Tho. Vyner, and would have done the ſame to the Recorder Steel, but he declined it.

The Hollanders being weary of the Wars which they had maintained with ſuch little ſucceſs, and ſo great coſt, ſend commiſſioners to treat with the protector for a peace between both Nations, which at length was concluded both with the King of Denmark and the Dutch, who were to pay the charge of the War, money being very neceſſary in his new Government; and in April following, it was proclaimed with great ſolemnity in London, the two Dutch Ambaſſadors making magnificent Treatments and Fireworks to demonſtrate their ſatisfaction therein.

The Protector now ſends his eldeſt Son Henry into Ireland, of which he was made Lord Deputy ſoon after, and General Monk was ſent into Scotland: Likewiſe the Lord Whitlock, who was ſent Ambaſſador, by the laſt parliament, to the Q. of Sweden, had now a new commiſſion ſent him from the Lord protector, in whoſe Name he continued the Treaty with that Crown, and afterward finiſhed it. In March following, Monſieur Bordeux was ſent Ambaſſador to England from the French King, and Sir Anthony Aſhly Cooper, Coll. Sydenham, and Mr. Strickland, were appointed Commiſſioners by the protector to treat with him, ſo that he was owned abroad as well as at home, King Charles was then in the French Court, who finding, that notwithſtanding his own and his Mothers endeavours to the contrary, the Treaty between France and England was vigorouſly proſecuted by Cardinal Mazarine, and foreſeeing that if the peace

peace were concluded, he and his party must be obliged to depart France, he thought it more Honourable voluntarily to leave that Kingdom than to stay till he were forced out by a complement; so the King with his Brother the Duke of York, and his Cousins Prince Rupert and Edward, retired to Chattillon, a House of the Prince of Condes, from whence soon after, the King and Prince Rupert went into Germany, and indeed it happened as they suspected, for one of the Articles of the French King with the protector was, That none of the Royal Family of England should reside in the Dominions of France.

In Feb. 1654. several persons were committed to the Tower, about a conspiracy against the protector, the chief whereof Sir Gilbert Gersard, Coll. John Gerrard his brother, the E. of Oxford, Mr. Philip Porter, Mr. Vowell a School-master at Islington, and in June following, an High Court of Justice being erected, they were brought before them, and charged to design the Assassination of the Lord protector, and thereupon Coll. Gerrard, and Mr. Vowell, were sentenced to be hanged, which was accordingly executed upon Mr. Vowell at Charing-cross, and Coll. Gerrard was beheaded at Tower-Hill, who expresly denied the intention of the fact. With him, upon the same Scaffold, but not upon the like account, suffered at that time Don Pantalion Sa, brother to the Portugal Ambassador then Resident in England, who upon conceit that he had received some affront upon the New-Exchange in the Strand, came thither one evening with a crew of idle fellows, Lacquies and Servants to himself and his brother, armed with pistols, swords, and Hand-Granadoes, and firing a pistol, killed one Mr. Greenway standing quietly at a Stall, and had done further mischief, if this Coll. Gerrard had not stop'd their fury, and with his sword drawn driven them all down stairs; upon hearing the matter, the Protector resolved the murderers should suffer with-

out

out respect of persons, and it appearing, that though the person who committed the murder was a Knight of Malta, and had made his escape, yet that this Noble-man and the rest were accessaries, he and four more of the Ambassadors were tryed and found guilty, with an Irish youth: Don Pantalion was beheaded with Coll. Gerrard, the Irish boy was hanged at Tyburn and the other four pardoned; and peace being soon after concluded with the K. of Portugal, the Ambassador sorrowfully departed.

In the same month a ship fell accidentally on fire on Southwark side, as she lay at Anchor, which being cut away, the ship was driven by the flowing tyde upon a shelf near the bridge, where she stuck, and blew up her powder; there were eight persons killed, one a Draper upon his Leads by the plank of the Ship, and had the blow been any nigher, it might have indangered the bridge it self.

The Lord Protector, in pursuance of the late Instrument, resolved now to call a parliament, and Writs were sent out for their meeting, Sept. 3. 1654. at Westminster: Being assembled accordingly, the Protector went by Water from White-Hall to the Parliament-House, and sending for the Members into the Painted-Chamber, he desired their company to hear a Sermon at the Abby-Church the next day, and afterwards he would impart his mind to them. About Nine next morning, His Highness rode in his Coach to Church, with whom sate his Son Henry, and the Lord Lambert: The Pages went before, and his Gentlemen in rich Liveries marched bare-headed: On one side of the Coach walked Mr. Strickland, one of the Council, and Captain of the Guards, together with the master of the Ceremonies: On the other side was Capt. Howard Capt. of the Life-Guard: These were followed by the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Commissioners of the Treasury, and the Privy-Council, in their Coaches, and in the rere

came

came the protectors Ordinary Guard. As he entred the Church, four maces, the purſe, and a ſword born by the Lord Lambert, were carried before him: Dr. Tho. Goodwin preached the Sermon, which being ended, the *Protector* and the *Parliament* went to the painted-chamber, where there was an appearance of a number of grave judicious perſons, to whom the *Protector* ſpake to this effect:

'Gentlemen, The parliament that are here met 'this day, are ſuch a congregation of wiſe, prudent, 'and diſcreet perſons, that England hath never ſcarce 'ſeen the like, and few could have thought of ſuch 'a door of hope not many years ago, and therefore it 'would have been very neceſſary and worthy ſuch 'an Aſſembly to give a relation of the ſeries of Gods 'providences all along to theſe very times, but that 'being very well known to moſt of you, I ſhall at pre-'ſent omit it, and proceed to declare to you in what 'condition theſe Nations were when the preſent Go-'vernment was erected: It was apparent that every 'mans heart was againſt another, and every mans in-'tereſt divided againſt each other, and we had then 'ſuch different humours, that every thing almoſt was 'grown arbitrary. There was alſo grown up a ge-'neral contempt of God and Chriſt, and the grace of 'God was turned into wantonneſs, and his ſpirit made 'a cloak for all manner of wickedneſs and profane-'neſs: Nay, the Ax was laid to the root of the mini-'ſtry, and the fifth monarchy was highly cry'd up 'by perſons who would aſſume the Government, but 'that deſired thing wants greater manifeſtation than 'has yet appeared, before men ought to change the 'Authority to make way for it. While theſe things 'were in the midſt of us, and nothing but confuſion 'in the hearts and minds of ſome men, ſwarms of 'popiſh *Prieſts* and Jeſuites daily arrived here, to 'raiſe and foment diviſions againſt the peace and qui-'et of the Nation: And at the ſame time the Nation

'was

' was likewiſe ingaged in a deep War with Portugal,
' Holland and France, ſo that we were in a heap of
' confuſion, and it was abſolutely neceſſary that a
' ſpeedy remedy ſhould be applied thereto, and this
' has been in a great meaſure done ſince the ſettling
' of this Government, which is clearly calculated for
' the peoples Intereſt, let malignant ſpirits ſay what
' they will, and therefore with humbleneſs toward
' God, and modeſty towards you, I will recount
' ſomething in the behalf of this Government. For,
' firſt, It hath endeavoured to reform the Law: It
' hath put into the ſeats of Juſtice men of known In-
' tegrity and Juſtice: It hath ſettled a way for trial
' and probation of miniſters to preach the Goſpel:
' And beſides all this, it hath called a Free parlia-
' ment; bleſſed be God that this day you ſee a Free
' parliament. As for the Wars, a peace is made with
' Sweden, Denmark, the Dutch and Portugal, and
' one likewiſe very near concluding with France;
' yet theſe things are only entrances, and open door
' of hope. But now, Gentlemen, I make no queſti-
' on to inable you to lay the top ſtone of this work,
' and I ſhall recommend this maxim to your conſi-
' deration, That peace, though it be made, is not to
' be truſted farther than it conſiſts with Intereſt;
' and one great work that at preſent lies before this
' Honourable Aſſembly, is, That the Goverment of
' Ireland may be ſettled in terms of Honour, and that
' you would avoid confuſions, leſt Foreign States
' ſhould take advantage by them. And as for my
' ſelf, I aſſure you, I do not ſpeak as one that would
' Lord it over you, but as one that would be a fellow
' ſervant to you in this great affair; and ſo to conclude,
' I deſire you to repair to your Houſe, and uſe your
' liberty in chooſing a Speaker.

The Protector having concluded his Speech, the members immediately repair to their Houſe, and there chooſe William Lenthal, Eſq; maſter of the Rolls,

Rolls to be their Speaker; after which, they begin upon the Instrument of Government, and the question is in the first place proposed, Whether the Legislative power should be in a single person or a parliament. Those of the protectors party endeavour by all means possible to perswade them, That it should be no Question, but be absolutely carried in the affirmative. This was as rigorously opposed by the majority of the House, and among the rest, a Gentleman who had all along stron ly opposed Monarchy as disagreeable to his Interest, stood up and said, 'The 'parliament cannot but discern the snares that are laid 'to intrap the priviledges of the people, and for my 'own part, as God has ma le me Instrumental in cut-'ting down Tyranny in one person, so now I cannot 'endure to see the Nations liberties shackled by ano-'ther, whose Right to the Government can be mea-'sured out no otherwise than by the length of his 'Sword, which was the only thing that emboldened 'him to command his Commanders. Many others seconded this motion, confirming what he had said, and directly against a single person.

These debates and divisions upon the protectors Instrument, which continued eight days successively, did much disturb him, fearing they would produce irreconcileable differences, and therefore to remedy it in time, and put the parliament into a milder temper, he goes from White-Hall to Westminster, and sending for the members then sitting into the painted chamber, he thus addresses them:

'Gentlemen, The God of Heaven knows what 'grief and sorrow of heart it is to me to find you fal-'ling into heats and divisions, but I would have you 'take notice of this, That the same Government made 'me protector which made you a parliament, and 'that as you are intrusted with some things, so am I 'with others, and that in the Government there are 'certain Fundamentals which cannot be altered, As

'I.

'1. That the Government ſhould be in a ſingle perſon and a parliament: 2. That parliament ſhould not be perpetual: 3. That the militia ſhould not be truſted into one hand or power, but ſo that the parliament ſhould have a check upon the protector, and the protector on the parliament: 4. That in matters of Religion there ought to be Liberty of Conſcience, and that perſecution in the Church was not to be Tolerated. The reſt of the things in the Government are examinable and alterable as the ſtate of affairs do require, and for my own part, my heart is even over-whelmed with grief, to ſee that any of you ſhould endeavour to overthrow what is ſettled, contrary to the Truſt received from the people, and which cannot but bring very great inconveniency upon your ſelves and the Nation.

This was the ſubſtance of his perſwaſions, but doubting that this would not ſufficiently bring them over to his Intereſts, he contrived a Recognition and acknowledgment, which was to be ſigned by every member before he ſhould be admitted to ſit in the Houſe, as followeth:

'I do hereby promiſe and ingage to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and ſhall not (according to the tenor of the Indenture whereby I am returned to ſerve in parliament) propoſe or give any conſent to alter the Government as it is ſettled in one perſon and a parliament.

This was ſubſcribed by ſeveral of the members, tho' the greater number at firſt refuſed, eſpecially thoſe of the late long parliament, ſo that of 400 there appeared only 200, but afterward were made up 300, who fell afreſh upon the ſame diſputes, and run over all the Articles of the Inſtrument of Government, reſolving to have the Judgment of the whole Houſe upon them in one entire Bill, and ſo preſent it, thereby to waſte time, and hinder the Protector from having

ving money which he much wanted, ſo that after five months dilatory proceedings, and that they had not yet ſettled him in the Government, the time being expired wherein the Inſtrument gave him leave, without loſing one day, nay ſcarce an hour, he diſſolved the parliament.

This diſſolution incouraged the moſt oppoſite parties to conſpire againſt the Protector, that is, the fifth Monarchy men and Royaliſts, the firſt expected King Jeſus, or the erecting of a fifth Kingdom, the ſecond longed for the Reſtoration of King Charles, and the Protectors Favourites deſired King Oliver, and every party manifeſted their impatience, but none of them could attain their wiſhes, and when Oliver might afterwards, yet he thought it not ſafe. The protector was not ignorant of their deſigns, and reſolved firſt to deal with the weakeſt, for finding this Millionary principle ſpread in the Army, he diſcarded Major General Harriſon and coll. Rich, and after ſent them, with coll Carew, and Courtney, priſoners to remote Caſtles, and General Monk had order to ſeize Major General Overton, and Major Bramſton, Holmes, and other Officers, and caſhier them. Overton was ſent up priſoner to the Tower, and his Regiment given to coll. Morgan. coll. Okeys Regiment was given to the Lord Howard; Cornet now collonel Joyce, was likewiſe diſmiſt, having reproach'd Cromwel to his face with his ſervices. And thus the danger from the Army was quickly ſuppreſs'd.

But the deſign of the Royaliſts, or Cavaliers, would have been more formidable, had not the whole contrivance thereof been diſcovered to the Protector by one Manning, who was with King Charles in Germany, and a Spy upon all his actions; ſo that Cromwel knew the riſe and progreſs, and firſt appearance of thoſe Arms againſt him, without being ſurprized, though

though all the Gentlemen of that party in England were one way or other ingaged, or at least privy to it; but the seizing the principal of them throughout the Kingdom, a little before the execution, much frustrated the probable effects of that Insurrection. The L. Mayor was sent for and acquainted with it, and the militia settled, Skippon being made Major-General. All Horse Races forbidden, and several dissolute persons were seized upon suspicion: Counter-plots were used, all sorts of Ammunition being sent down to several Gentlemens Houses, with Letters without Names, and the Gentlemen for not discovering them secured. Yet notwithstanding all these discouragements, the Western Association thought themselves ingaged in honour to rise upon the day appointed, and which they had signified to K. Charles, who was come from Colen to the Sea coasts, in order to have passed over to his friends with the first opportunity; accordingly, March 11. 1654. a party of 200 under Sir Joseph Wagstaff, coll. Penruddock and Grove, march'd into Salisbury, where the Judges, Rolls and Nichols, were sitting at the Assize, and seized all their Horses, declaring the cause of their appearance without further injury, or taking any money, which lay in Serjeant Maynard's and other Lawyers chambers, promising to return and break their fasts with the Judges provision, which they did, and increased their number to four hundred, the whole City being well affected to them. Thence they marched to Blanford, where coll. Penruddock himself proclaimed the King in the Market-place, and so marched Westward. Captain Butler, with two Troops of Cromwels Horse, following at a distance in their Rere, to give them opportunity of increasing; but by the Protectors taking up so many before, very few came in, and many deserted when they saw no hopes of the number of four thousand which was promised and expected.

Coll. Penruddock finding his affairs desperate, resolved

ſolved to try Devonſhire and Cornwall, and in this condition about 100 of the moſt reſolute, without ſtaying any where, came hungry, ſleepy and weary, to Southmolton in Devonſhire, hoping at worſt to get away by Sea, but that Night their Quarters were beaten up by Capt. Crook about ten a clock, and ſome Houſes forced, but coll. Penruddock maintained his Quarters till he had Articled with the Captain, and then ſurrendred himſelf; with him were taken coll. Jones a Kinſman of Cromwels, coll. Grove, and ſixty other priſoners with 120 Horſe, but Sir Joſeph Wagſtaff, Mr Robert Maſon, Eſq; Clark, and Mr. Tho. Mompeſſon, eſcaped beyond Sea, and ſo this riſing was quickly ſuppreſt. There were ſome appearances of the like at Ruſford-Abby in Nottingham-ſhire, at Heſſam-moor in Yorkſhire, and in the Counties of Montgomery and Cumberland, for which ſome few were executed; but thoſe weak efforts, with ſome others came to nothing, and the Kings Reſtoration which was mightily expected at this time, proved unſucceſful. After which, the King diſcovered the Treachery of Manning to him upon this occaſion; Some Gentlemen going for England, came to take leave of the King at Colen, to whom the King wiſhed a good Journey, and proſperity to their Deſign; when they arrived in England, they were ſeized, and examined before the Protectors Council whether they did not ſpeak with the King ſuch a day, repeating what paſt between them. Advice hereof being ſent the King, he recollected that none but coll. Tuke and this Manning, who held the candle, were preſent at this paſſage: He declared the whole matter to the colloyel, who much ſurprized proteſted his innocency, and by the Kings command went directly to Mannings chamber, and not ſtaying opening the door, forced it, and found him chewing of papers, and a packet by him newly come from Thurloe the Protectors Secretary; at which, Manning was ſo much aſtoniſh'd, he could not ſpeak a word. His Father

ther was kill'd in the Kings service, and himself had been Secretary to the E. of Pembroke, and upon that account was intrusted with the Kings secrets. At the instance of the whole Court, the King ordered him to be shot to death in one of the Castles of the Duke of Newburg. The Protector had drawn 4000 foot from Ireland, and 600 Horse from Scotland, but upon quelling this Rising, they were remanded. Coll. Penruddock, and coll. Grove, were beheaded, and seven others were hanged at Exeter.

The Protector had a great while been preparing a mighty Fleet, with all necessary provisions, for some notable Enterprize, and every one fearing their own States, could not guess whither this design tended: At length, those vast preparations produced two mighty Fleets, one under the command of General Blake, which was fitted only for the Sea, and sent to the Streights; the other, about two months after, was committed to the charge of Gen. Pen, who was to take aboard him an Army under General Venables. These Land Forces being about 3000, were divided into the several Ships, which were thirty sail of men of War, but had not necessary provisions for so great an Army, the Commanders not knowing whither, nor how far they were to go.

Dec. 19. 1654. This Fleet set sail from Portsmouth directly to the Barbadoes, where the Generals had order to break open their Commissions, this being the appointed place of Rendevouz, whither having a fair wind, they arrived Jan. 29. following, and landed all their men in Carlisle-Bay.

The sudden departure of these two great Fleets, caused the King of Spain, who doubted they were designed against him, to send the Marques de Leda, Governor of Dunkirk, into England as Extraordinary Ambassador, to penetrate into this grand Court secret, but having spent several days after his arrival, without receiving that satisfaction he desired, he returned back again.

Whilst

Whilſt the Fleet was at Barbadoes, the Officers were very diligent in their charges, and cauſed the Shallops which they had brought from England ready framed, to be ſet up, and the water Gasks to be trimmed: Two Frigates are ſent to *St.* Chriſtophers and Nevis, to raiſe men to compleat their Regiments, and form Regiments out of the Seamen to ſerve upon occaſion. At length, they ſhip'd 6000 men, and a Troop of Horſe raiſed by the Barbadians at their own charge, and ſailing thence, March 31. 1655. in ſix days arrived at *St.* Chriſtophers, where they had a Recruit of 1300 Voluntiers, moſt ſervants to the planters, who willingly ingaged, becauſe during the time their ſervice went on, and they might afterward be as free as their maſters, ſo that though the Fleet was ſtrengthned by ſeizing twenty Dutch ſhips, trading there contrary to Articles, yet they were all full, tho' there were ſcarce proviſions for half the number, if any accident ſhould happen. From hence they ſteered directly for Hiſpaniola, and April 13. 1655. came in ſight of St. Domingo, the principal Town, and againſt which they chiefly deſigned. A Council of War being called, it was unanimouſly concluded, That General Venables ſhould land with his Forces; and accordingly, next day he ſent aſhoar ſeven thouſand Foot, a Troop of Horſe, and three days proviſion, about ten or twelve Leagues Weſtward of the Town; the Souldiers were even raviſhed with the hopes of the mountains of Gold they ſhould obtain, which ſeemed to put univerſal courage through the whole Army, ſo that there appeared a certainty of Victory. But the General, whether by order, or to engroſs all to himſelf, ſoon quelled their expectations by making proclamation, That upon the taking St. Domingo, no man ſhould preſume to plunder either money, plate, or Jewels, or to take or kill any tame Cattel whatſoever, upon pain of death.

This

This it was judged defeated the whole design, the Souldiers being unwilling to endanger themselves when there was no prospect of advantage; howsoever they were obliged to march forward, tho' with much difficulty, passing through such thick Woods that they were forced to cut their way, and could not find a drop of fresh water, so that with the drought caused by the excessive heat of the Sun, which even pierced their Brains, and their discontent of mind, (for sorrow is dry) most of them were faint and disabled.

Having in two days got through the Woods, without opposition from the Spaniards, they at length joined coll. Bullards Brigade, consisting of three Regiments of foot, whom Admiral Pen had landed on the side of the Bay, about two Leagues from the Town, near a River of fresh water, being the appointed rendevouz of the whole body, which now consisted in nine or ten thousand men, but most of them so weak as hardly able to go, much less to fight, yet being joined they marched on, not doubting but to take the Town quickly. A Forlorn Hope of 500 men, under Capt. Cox, the chief guide to this place, advanced first, after whom followed the whole Army; being within four miles of the Town, a small party of Horse suddenly encounter the Forlorn Hope, and in an instant routed them, forcing them through the next Regiment, which they likewise put to flight, and had slain most of them, but that the whole Army came up to their relief. After which, the Spaniards marched back to their Fort in good order, and with little loss, but near fifty English were slain, besides Captain Cox their Guide.

The General hereupon retreats to the River to refresh his men with water, which caused their weakness, resolving once more to attempt carrying the Town, causing Scaling ladders to be made, and two small Drakes, with a Mortar-piece, to be landed from the Fleet, and conveyed by water near the Town:

All

All things prepared, they march forward, ſome guides undertaking to carry them a private way out of danger of the Fort, but miſſing it, they fell into the ſame path, and into worſe miſchief than before, for the Spaniards having notice of their march by the Negroes and Molattoes, reſolved to entertain them in their paſſage, and April 25. the whole Army approaching near a brick Fort built by the Spaniards, having nine good Cannon, and 300 men, they were ſuddenly charged by a party hid among the Trees, who though not above ſeventy, firſt fired a Volley of ſhot upon the Forlorn, and then flew in upon the Engliſh, already weary, and near choak'd with thirſt, and with their Steel Lances routed, in a moment, both them and the Generals Regiment, with near half the Army, who flying back into the Rear, poſſeſt them with ſuch a pannick fear, that every one ſhifted for himſelf, the Spaniards purſuing with great ſlaughter, finding no reſiſtance but from M. Gen. Haines, who ſold his life at a dear rate, fighting in the midſt of his Enemies; at length, the Spaniards weary of killing, retreated with ſeven Engliſh Colours. Of the Engliſh 600 were ſlain on the place, 300 wounded, and 200 fled into the Woods to ſave themſelves, and were there knock'd on the head by the Malatto's and Negro's.

Upon this diſaſter, the Army that Night drew up to the Spaniſh Fort, and planted a Mortar conveniently againſt it, all things being in readineſs for a battery, when on a ſudden the Army was commanded to draw off, and without doing any damage, marched to their old watering place the Bay, where being arrived, and wanting Victuals, they were forced to go out in parties to fetch it, ſome never returning, being killed by the Negroes, till at laſt they were forced, by famine, to eat the Horſes of their own Troop. In this miſerable ſtate they continued ſome days, at length it was reſolved, that May 3. they ſhould all go aboard, and in ten days they arrived in the chief Port of Jamaica, called

called Oristano, where they had better success, soon possessing the Town, and then the Army began to take up their Habitations, and to plant. This was the first planting of this gallant Island by the English, which has since grown so rich and populous, and of so great advantage to this Kingdom, and they gained it the more easily, because at their landing it was resolved by a Council of War, that if any man turned his back to the enemy, his bringer up should kill him: And the Spaniards having no Intelligence of their late overthrow at Hispaniola, nor indeed suspecting any Hostility, fled away at the approach of this formidable Army, and withdrew their Goods into the Woods, by a pretended Treaty with the English, whither parties were sent to follow them, and to kill Cattel for the Army, of which they found store of very good, without fighting, to their great relief. Soon after, the Generals Pen and Venables arrived in England, and the protector in reward of their Services, committed them both prisoners to the Tower.

A little to alleviate this misfortune, Gen. Blake, about this time, being sent to the Streights with a gallant Fleet, to scour the Seas of Turkish pyrates, who had taken and destroyed many English Ships, and enslaved their persons; he first seeks them out at Sea, but not finding them, resolves to go home to them, and March 10. 1655. arrives at Algiers, and Anchored without the mold, sending a messenger to demand satisfaction of the Dey, for the depredations committed on the English, and required the delivery of the Captives of our Nation immediately. The Dey having provided a large present of Beef and Mutton, and other fresh provisions alive, returns the Messenger with them, and this answer to the General, 'That the Ships and Captives already taken, 'belonged to particular men, and therefore it lay 'not in his power to restore them without the gene-'ral discontent of all his subjects; yet as for the

'English

'English Captives that were there, if he pleased to 'redeem them he should, and he would set a rea-'sonable and indifferent price upon their heads, and 'that if the General thought good, they would con-'clude a peace with him, and for the future offer no 'Acts of Hostility on their part, to any of the Eng-'lish Ships or Natives. This answer seemed satis-factory to the General, and accordingly the captives were redeemed, and a peace concluded.

Having thus dispatch'd the affair of A'giers, General Blake sails next to Tunis, where sending a summons to the Dey, he received a very disobliging answer; for having secured their ships, as they imagined, under their Castles, they in scorn and contempt sent him word, 'Here are the Castles of Go-'letta, and our Ships and Castles of Porto Ferino, do 'your worst, but do not think that we are affrighted 'at the sight of your Fleet. This resolute reply exasperated both the General and Seamen, who resolved to be revenged, and a Council of War being called, it was resolved to burn the nine ships that were in Porto Ferino, which they accordingly effected; for every ships Boat being manned with stout and resolute Mariners, were sent into the Harbour to assault and fire the ships, whilst the Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and Rere-Admiral, play broad-sides continually on the Castle, to prevent their sinking the boats, who after a brave assault, burnt the ships, and return back again only with the loss of 25 men, and 43 wounded. This daring action of General Blake, resounded to the honour of the English Nation, as far as the Grand Signiors Court at Constantinople.

But to digress a little, about this time Christiana, Queen of Sweden, to the admiration of all Europe, resigned up the Crown and Kingdom to her Kinsman Carolus Gustavus, being contented, from a mighty Princess, to put her self into the condition of a Lady Errant, desiring only these conditions might be grant-

ed her from her ſucceſſor: ‘ 1. That ſhe retain a good ‘ part of her Kingdom, and the cuſtoms, to her ſelf. ‘ 2. That ſhe will be no ſubject, but abſolutely free ‘ without controul. 3. That ſhe will Travel whether ‘ ſhe pleaſeth. To theſe Prince Charles made this reply: 1. ‘ That he would not be a King without a ‘ Kingdom. 2. That he will have no Rival nor Supe- ‘ rior. 3. That he will not hazard himſelf about her ‘ deſigns abroad. However, theſe differences were ſo accommodated, that ſoon after ſhe reſigned her Kingdom, leaving to her ſelf only the bear Title of Queen, but to him both the Title of *King* and poſſeſſion of a Kingdom. With this new King, the Lord Whitlock, who had been ſome time Ambaſſador there, ſoon concluded a firm League Offenſive and Defenſive between theſe two Nations, the effects whereof had ſoon appeared in Chriſtendom, had Cromwel lived much longer than he did.

The horrible maſſacre committed at this time upon the proteſtants in Piedmont and Savoy, by the Forces of that Duke, under the Marqueſs of Parella, occaſioned the protector to appoint a publick Faſt, and great ſums of money were gathered in England, and remitted to *Sir Samuel Morland* for their relief.

And now the Lord protector, to ſecure himſelf from Inſurrections, conſtitutes new kind of Officers, called *Major* Generals of Counties, dividing the Kingdom into eleven parts; the Names of whom are theſe: For Kent and Surrey coll. Kelſey; for *Suſſex*, Hamſhire, and Berkſhire, coll. Goff; for Wilts, Gloceſter, Dorſet, Somerſet, Devon and Cornwall, coll. *Desborow*; for Oxford-ſhire, Bucks, Hartford, Cambridge, Iſle of Ely, Eſſex, Norfolk and Suffolk, Lt. Gen. Fleetwood; for the City of London M. Gen. Skippon; for Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Warwick and Leiceſter-ſhire, Commiſſary Gen. Whaley; for Northampton, Bedford, Rutland and Huntington, Maj. Butler; for Worceſter, Hereford, Salop and North Wales, coll. Berry; for Cheſhire,

Cheſhire, Stafford and Lancaſhire, coll. Wortley; for Durham, Cumberland, York, Weſtmoreland and Northumberland, Lord Lambert; for Weſtminſter and Middleſex, coll. Barkſtead Lieutenant of the Tower. The greateſt ſervice they did was to oblige Delinquents to pay in the Tenths of their Eſtates for old offences, and influence Elections of Parliament men, but in a ſhort time he diſmiſs'd them again.

Another deſign of the protectors was the admiſſion of the Jews into England, for which it was ſaid they offered 200000 *l.* whereupon he propoſes it to ſeveral Judges and Miniſters for their approbation; many arguments were uſed for and againſt it, and ſeveral places of Scripture cited, and divers conferences held about it, with Dr. Manton, Mr. Jenkyns and others, who yet were not ſatisfied with the arguments of Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael the Jewiſh Agent, though the Protector alledged, 'That ſince there was a promiſe for 'their converſion, means muſt be uſed to that end, 'which is the preaching of the Goſpel, and that cannot be had unleſs they be permitted to reſide where 'the Goſpel is preached; but no concluſion, the publick re-admiſſion of them was laid aſide, as a thing decried both by the Clergy and Laity.

The Spaniards having certain Intelligence of the attempt and repulſe of the Engliſh at Hiſpaniola, and their poſſeſſion of Jamaica, thought this a ſufficient breach of the peace, though there was never any peace made with that King beyond the Line, he always taking all Engliſh ſhips he could meet with and maſter that Traded there; and hereupon, he makes a ſeizure of all the Merchants perſons and Goods then in Spain, ſo that the War begins to grow hot both in the old and new World. The Protector thereupon, orders the Generals Blake and Montague, to block up Cadiz, the chief Port Town of that Kingdom, and whither the Plate Fleet uſed yearly to come. He likewiſe concludes a peace with France (which was at Wars with

Spain a long time) by the Intereſt of Cardinal Mazarine, the French King (as you have heard) baniſhing all the Royal Family of England (except the Queen mother) out of his Dominions, at the deſire of Cromwel, and by the Inſtigation of that Cardinal.

The Engliſh Fleet under Montagne and Blake, had for ſome months, in a manner, beſieged Cadiz by Sea, but could by no provocation oblige the Spaniard to fight them, who hoping that the Engliſh having ſuffered the fatigues of the Sea, would be forced to depart for want of proviſions, thought it better policy to loſe a little honour, rather than to venture either men or ſhips, againſt thoſe who had maintained ſuch terrible Sea fights againſt the Hollanders; but the Engliſh found in Wyers Bay in Portugal, a convenient ſupply of water and proviſions, which was much nearer than the Spaniards imagined. Hither were the Generals gone for freſh water and proviſions, having only left a ſquadron of 7 ſhips under Capt. Stainer, before the port of Cadiz, to obſerve all ſhips paſſing in or out; as they were thus plying for ſome days, it happened that a ſtiff gale of wind forced Capt. Stainer to ſtand out to Sea, where he eſpied part of the K. of Spains plate Fleet coming from the Weſt-Indies, and making directly for Cadiz, he was ſomewhat to the Leeward, but made up toward them with all the ſail they could poſſible, and after ſome hours with much labour, the Captain in the Speaker, with the Bridgwater and Plymouth Frigates, got up to them, the other four ſhips not being able to come up, and preſently ingaged them; the Spaniſh Fleet conſiſted in 8 tall ſhips or Galleons, yet in a ſhort time they were wholly ſpoil'd, one was ſunk, three burnt, two ran aſhoar and were bulged, one eſcaped, and two fell into the hands of the Engliſh, one whereof had a great quantity of plate and Cockeweal in her, the other were chiefly laden with Hydes. In theſe ſhips, many perſons of Quality were taken, and among others the two Sons of the Marqueſs

of

of Badajoz, who had been Governour of Peruand, having gained a great Estate in New-England, was now returning to live the remainder of his days in his own country; he, and his Wife and Daughter, were burnt in one of the ships, of which, and the War with Spain, with the present Victory, hear what the Poet Laureat of that Age elegantly sings:

Now for some Ages had the pride of Spain
Made the Sun shine on half the World in vain;
Whilst she bid War to all that durst supply
The place of those her cruelty made dye.
Of Natures bounty men forbore to taste,
And the best portion of the Earth lay waste;
From the New World, her Silver and her Gold,
Came like a Tempest to confound the Old,
Feeding with these the brib'd Electors hopes,
Alone she gave us Emperors and Popes:
With these advancing her unjust designs,
Europe was shaken with her Indian Mines,
When our Protector, looking with disdain,
Upon this gilded Majesty of Spain,
And knowing well that Empire must decline,
Whose chief Support and Sinews are of Coin,
Our Nations solid Virtue did oppose,
To the rich Troublers of the Worlds repose.
And now some months Incamping on the Main,
Our Naval Army had besieged Spain;
They that the whole Worlds Monarchy design'd,
Are to their Ports by our bold Fleet confin'd,
From whence our Red-cross they triumphant see,
Riding without a Rival on the Sea.
Others may use the Ocean as their Road,
The English only make it their aboad,
Whose ready sails with every wind can fly,
And make a Covenant with the unconstant Sky.
Our Oaks secure as if they there took root;
We tread on Billows with a steady foot:

Lords of the VVorlds great waſte, the Ocean we
VVhole Forreſts ſend to reign upon the Sea,
And every Coaſt may trouble or relieve,
But none can viſit us without our leave:
Angels and we have this Prerogative,
That none can at our happy ſeat arrive,
VVhile we deſcend at pleaſure to invade
The Bad with Vengeance, and the Good to Aid.
Mean while the Spaniards in America,
Near to the Line the Sun approaching ſaw,
And hoped their European coaſts to find,
Cleer'd from our ſhips by the Autumnal wind.
Their huge capacious Gallions ſtuff'd with Plate,
The labouring winds drive ſlowly to their fate.
Before St. Lucar they their Guns diſcharge,
To ſhew their Joy, or to invite a Barge:
This heard ſome ſhips of ours (though out of view)
As ſwift as Eagles to the Quarry flew.
So harmleſs Lambs, that for their Mother bleat,
VVake hungry Lyons, and become their meat.
Arriv'd, they ſoon begin their Tragick play,
And with their ſmoaky Cannon baniſh day;
Night, horror, ſlaughter, with confuſion meets,
And in their ſable arms imbrace the Fleets:
Through yielding planks the angry Bullets fly,
And of one wound hundreds together dye:
Born under different Stars, one fate they have,
The Ship their Coffin, and the Sea their Grave.
Bold were the men, that on the Ocean firſt,
Spread their new Sails, when ſhipwrack was the worſt.
More danger now from men alone we find
Than from the Rocks, the Billows and the VVind.
They that had ſail'd from near th' Antartick Pole,
Their Treaſure ſafe, and all their Veſſels whole,
In ſight of their dear country ruin'd be,
VVithout the guilt of either Rock or Sea:
VVhat they would have our fiercer arr deſtroys,
Surpaſſing ſtorms in terror and in noiſe.

Our

Once Jove from Ida did both Hosts survey,
And when he pleas'd to Thunder part the fray.
Here Heav'n, in vain, that kind retreat would found,
The loud'r caunon had the thunder drown'd.
Some were made prize, while others burnt and rent,
With their rich lading to the bottom went;
Down sinks at once: So Fortune with us sports,
The pay of Armies, and the pride of Courts.
Vain man, whose rage buries as low that store
As Avarice had digg'd for it before,
What Earth in her dark bowels could not keep
From greedy hands, lies safer in the Deep,
Where Thetis kindly doth from mortals hide;
Those seeds of Luxury debate, and pride.
And now, into our hands, the richest prize
Falls with the noblest of our enemies;
The Marquess, glad to see the fire destroy
Wealth the prevailing Foe were to enjoy,
Out from his flaming ship his children sent,
To perish in a milder Element,
Then laid him by his burning Ladies side,
And since he could not save her, with her dy'd:
Spices and Gums about them melting fry,
And Phœnix like, in that rich Nest they dye;
Alive in flames of equal love they burn'd,
And now together into Ashes turn'd,
Ashes more worth than all their Funeral cost,
Than the huge Treasure which with them was lost.
These dying Lovers, and their floating Sons,
Suspend the Fight, and silence all our Guns.
Beauty and Youth, about to perish, finds
Such noble pity in brave English minds,
That they the spoil neglecting, and the prize,
All labour now to save their Enemies.
How frail's our passion? How soon changed are
Our wrath and fury to a friendly care?
They that but now for honour and for plate,
Made the Sea blush with blood, forget their hate;

And while their Foes from perishing they retrieve,
With greater danger than they fought they dive.
With these returns Victorious Montague,
With Lawrel in his hands, and half Peru:
Let our brave Generals divide that bough,
Our great Protector hath such wreaths enow;
His conquering Head hath no more room for Bays:
Then let it be as the whole Nation prays,
With purple cloth'd and Ermine; let him hold,
A Royal Scepter made of Spanish Gold.

The Protector was highly pleased at this success and great booty, and a particular day of Thanksgiving was appointed by him for it; and soon after, Gen. Montague, with the young Marquess and part of the Fleet to convoy the silver, which amounted to two millions of pieces of Eight, returned into England, and delivered the Bullion into the Mint, and the young Marquess and his Brother were set at liberty. But the Spanish War being like to prove chargeable, notwithstanding this present supply, the protector being still necessitated for money, and desiring to have his power confirmed to him by the people, in hope the new Representative might grant him what the former denied, he issues out Writs for the Election of a new parliament, wherein much circumspection was used, if possible, to prevent some of the former House from being chosen.

Sept. 17. 1656. This parliament met at Westminster, and had a Sermon preached before them at the Abbey Church, by Dr. John Owen, Dean of Christs-Church, upon those words in Isaiah, 'What shall one 'then answer to the messengers of the Land? That 'the Lord hath founded Sion, and the poor of his people shall rejoice. After Sermon, the members went to the House, but found at the door a Guard, and an Officer standing with a List in his hand demanding the Names of every one of them, and such as were marked

ed for non-admittance were turned back, and a promiſe impoſed upon every individual member before he ſhould be permitted to ſit in the Houſe, That he would not act any thing prejudicial to the preſent Government; which many refuſed, and returned home, but the major part aſſenting to it, entred the Houſe, and choſe Sir Tho. Widdrington Speaker, and not minding thoſe that were excluded, referred the approbation of them to the Protectors Council. They then proceed according to the protectors deſire, making an Act for diſanulling the Title of Charles Stewart to the Government of theſe three Nations, nemine contradicente; another for making it Treaſon for any to attempt, compaſs, or imagine the Protectors death, and appointing ſuch Offendors to be tryed not by a Jury of twelve ſufficient men, but by a High Court of Juſtice; a third for an aſſeſsment upon England, Scotland and Ireland, of ſeventy thouſand pound a month for three years; an Act for preventing multiplicity of buildings, in, and ten miles about London, a whole years Revenue to be paid for all dwelling or Outhouſes, raiſed upon any new foundation ſince 1620. An Act for Exciſe of merchandize imported: An Act for puniſhing ſuch as live at high rates, and have no viſible Eſtates; and laſtly, for the obſervation of the Lords-day. When theſe Acts were ready for ſigning, the Protector came to the painted chamber and ſent for the parliament, where the ſpeaker rendring them to him, at the ſigning them he ſpake thus:

'Mr. Speaker, I perceive that amon; theſe many Acts
'of parliament, there hath been very great care had
'by the parliament to provide for the juſt and neceſ-
'ſary ſupport of the Common-wealth, by theſe Bills
'for levying of money now brought to me, which I
'have given my conſent unto; and underſtanding it
'hath been the practice of thoſe who have been chief
'Governors, to acknowledge with thanks to the
'Commons, their care and regard of the publick, I

'do very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their 'kindneſs herein.

But leaving the parliament awhile, let us relate a moſt daring attempt performed under the conduct of Gen. Blake about this time. This valiant commander lying with his Fleet near Cadiz, had advice that the Spaniſh VVeſt-India Fleet was put into the port of Sancta Cruze in Teneriff, the chief Iſle of the Canaries, whereupon the Fleet weighed, and April 20. 1657. came to the mouth of Sancta Cruze Bay, where they ſaw ſixteen Spaniſh ſhips lying in order almoſt like an half moon. At the North of the Haven is a caſtle well fortified with cannon, beſides ſeven Forts more, with three, four, and ſix Guns apiece, ſo that the enterprize ſeemed dangerous, if not deſperate: And Don Diego D' aquies, had cauſed all the ſmaller ſhips to be moored along the ſhoar to ſecure them, and the ſix great Gallions lay further off at anchor, with their broad-ſides toward the Sea. Blake perceiving all this, calls a Council of VVar, where it was reſolved to attack them inſtantly, without any thought of danger; Capt. Stainer in the Speaker, preſently falls upon the ſhips, diſregarding the number of ſhot which came thundring from the Forts on every ſide as thick as hail, and maintains near an hours fight, till the Generals, Blake and Montague, having ordered ſome Frigates to ply the Forts and Breaſt-works, with continual broad-ſides, came up, and with all their force attack'd the Spaniards, who after four hours gallant reſiſtance, were driven out of their ſhips, which the Engliſh could not eaſily bring away, and were therefore forced to burn to the number of ſixteen ſmall and great. This gallant attempt coſt the Engliſh but 48 men, and 120 wounded. The Spaniards, beſides the loſs of their whole Fleet, had ſeveral hundreds of men ſlain on the ſhoar, and in the Forts and VVorks, beſides thoſe kill'd in the ſhips. For this notable exploit, the Protector, by order of parliament, ſent a

Diamond

Diamond Ring worth 500 *l.* as a preſent to G. Blake, and capt. Rich. Stainer, who led on the firſt ſquadron, was at his firſt coming into England, for this and his former ſervices, Knighted by the protector.

At this time one Miles *Syndercomb*, an Officer formerly in *Scotland*, under M. Gen. Overton, was ſeized, and accuſed to deſign to take away the life of the protector, in combination with a diſguiſed perſon, ſaid to be a Prieſt ſent from Don Alonſo in Flanders, who was ingaged as principal. It was alledged that ſeveral proper houſes were taken to ſhoot the protector, with Engines, Blunderbuſſes, and other fire Arms, at his going to the parliament, or in the way to Hampton-court, and that the chappel at VVhite-Hall was to be fired with a ſtrong combuſtible matter. This account *Secretary* Thurloe delivered to the parliament, in moving terms, that the Houſe ordered a day of Thankſgiving, and a Narrative of the plot to be publiſhed, and went in a body to congratulate His Highneſs happy Deliverance, where *Sir.* Tho. VVidrington, their ſpeaker, made a ſpeech, wherein he declared, ' 1. The danger and ruine of the Reformed ' Churches abroad, and three Nations at home, who ' were ſtruck at by this blow: 2. The cunning ſe- ' crecy of it, that no more than two ſhould be privy ' to this wicked deſign: 3. The extenſiveneſs of it, ' reſolving if they failed in one place to do it in ano- ' ther, ſo that if Cicero were living, he would want ' expreſſion to ſet out the danger and the mercy, and ' it being ſo unparallell'd and unpreſedented a delive- ' rance, the parliaments Hymn ought to be, O Cante- ' mus, Cantemus, Canticum Novum, O let us ſing a ' new ſong to the Lord, bleſs his Name, ſhew forth ' his ſalvation this day, for he hath done marvelous ' things, his right hand, and his holy arm, hath gotten ' him the Victory. As the members were aſcending the ſtairs of the banquetting-houſe, a preſs of people crowding with them, the ſtairs broke under them, and

and Richard, the protectors Son, was much bruised, and Mr. Ellis, solicitor General, broke his leg.

Syndercomb, the next Term, was by the direction of the parliament, tryed for this Treason at the Kings Bench Bar: He denied the plot, but the evidence swearing positively against him, he was convicted upon the statute of 25 Edw. 3. Justice Glyn upon his condemnation declaring, that by the King was understood any chief magistrate of the Nation. He was carried thence to the Tower, where the Night before his execution, it was supposed he poysoned himself, as the Coroners Jury gave their Verdict: He went well to bed, desiring before half an hours privacy for his prayers, which being elapsed, he opened the door, and rubbing his hands togerher, and his Nose with them, he briskly bid them good Night, and being found dead next morning, his body, awhile after, was tyed with his head to the Horses Tail, and drawn to the scaffold at Tower-hill, where he was buried, and a stake, covered with Iron a top, driven into his body.

The sect of the Quakers were now grown numerous, among whom one called James Naylor, resembling, in his proportions and complexion, the picture of Christ, and setting his beard and locks in the same fashion, pretended to counterfeit our blessed Saviour, and had Disciples and VVomen ministring to him, who blasphemously applied several expressions of scripture relating to our Lord Jesus, to this man. He first appeared at Bristol, where a man leading an Horse before him, and Dorcas, Erbury, and Martha Symonds, going up to the knees in dirt by his Horse side, sung aloud, Holy, Holy, Holy, Hosanna to the highest, &c. For this they were seized, and brought up to the parliament: They entred the House singing their blasphemies, and a Committee being appointed to consider of their punishment, he was sentenced to be set in the Pillory twice, and whipt twice, and his forehead to be stigmatized with a letter B. for a Blasphemer,

mer, and bored through the Tongue with an hot Iron, with which he uſed to anſwer to every queſtion, Thou haſt ſaid it; and the like. He was likewiſe whipt at Briſtol, and thence returned to Bridewell, to be kept cloſe priſoner, and to eat no more than he earned. In Newgate, after his puniſhment, one Mr. Rich, a merchant of credit, that held him by the hand while he was in the Pillory, with divers others, lick'd his wounds; the VVomen were obſerved, ſome to lay their heads in his lap, lying againſt his Feet, others to lean upon his ſhoulder, and as ſoon as any Quaker came into his company, they would firſt take him by the hand, and in a ſtrange note ſay, Holy, Holy, &c. but being removed to Bridewell, after three days wilful faſting, having weakened himſelf even to death, he begged ſome Victuals, and then was ſet to work, which he performed, and came by degrees to himſelf, and his underſtanding; after Cromwels death he had his liberty, and ſoon after died.

The parliament had been long debating about ſettling the Government on the protector, when on a ſudden Alderman Pack of London, and one of the members, ſtarted a motion, 'That in regard of the 'unſettlement of the Nation, and the diſcompoſure 'of mens minds, and the ill aſpect it had upon Fo-'reign Princes, and all Trade, that therefore the pro-'tector might be deſired to aſſume the ſtile of King, 'as the moſt known, and moſt agreeable Govern-'ment. This motion was ſeconded by ſeveral of the protectors Courtiers, and April 9. the parliament having deſired a meeting with him, came to the Banquetting-houſe at White-Hall, where the ſpeaker Sir Tho. Widdrington, commended the Title and Office of a King, as being ſettled in this Nation with Chriſtianity it ſelf, approved by our Anceſtors, and conſiſtent with our Laws and the temper of the people, and then preſented him the model of their humble petition and advice to that purpoſe: His Highneſs, in anſwer

ſwer hereto, ſaid, 'Mr. Speaker, this is a weighty 'matter, and therefore I deſire ſpace to ſeek God, 'the charge that you would lay upon me being too 'heavy for me to bear without his aſſiſtance, for the 'Engliſh are the beſt people in the World, and re-'quire all tenderneſs and conſideration whatſoever, 'to be uſed for preſerving their liberties and pro-'perties.

The next day a Committee was appointed to wait upon him, and receive his ſcruples, and to offer reaſons for his ſatisfaction. The objections the protector made, were, Firſt, 'That the Title of a King is a 'Name of Office, and any Name that may imply the 'ſupream magiſtrate hath the ſame ſignification, and 'therefore there is no neceſſity of a change. To this they reply, 'That the Name of a King is only equal 'to, and comprehenſive of the Office of the ſupream 'magiſtrate: It is a rule, That the Kings of England 'cannot alter the Laws by reaſon of their Name, and 'that there is no obligation upon any other, that the 'very Title was declared neceſſary in the 5th. of 'Edw. 4. in the controverſie betwixt him and Hen. '7. and every action done by the King in poſſeſſion 'was valid, and that the Name King had beginning 'with our Laws, and that new Laws muſt be made 'for ſettling the Government in a protector.

The other objection was the danger and difficulty of altering the ſame Government to a Common-wealth, and the refuſal of ſome Judges, and acting of others, upon that ground: That another parliament might change thoſe reſolutions: The diſlike of the good people and Army; that providence had laid aſide the Title of King after ſeven years War, and many of the chief of thoſe who were Inſtrumental therein were diſſatisfied. Theſe ſcruples the Committee endeavoured to remove, by alledging, 'That providence 'had now brought about affairs ſo, that it ſeemed 'neceſſary for His Highneſs to comply with it; and

'as

'as for diſcontented perſons, they have been always 'found in the beſt of Governments. But becauſe this was a matter of conſequence, I ſhall repeat the ſpeech made by the Lord Whitlock, one of the Committee, ſent to the protector, with his anſwer thereto; who after ſeveral others had offered their ſentiments, ſummed up the moſt material reaſons as followeth:

'Sir, I have but very little to trouble your Highneſs with, ſo much hath been already ſpoken and ſo well, that it will be hard for me, or any other, to undertake to add to it, only the duty of my Imployment, and ſomething due to your Highneſs, occaſions me to ſpeak a few words, to acknowledge, with very humble thanks, the Honour and Right which you have done this Committee, by the clear and free diſcourſes and conferences which they have had with your Highneſs, and for your frequent expreſſions, and teſtimonies of affection and reſpect to the parliament, whoſe ſenſe in this, I may preſume to ſpeak, That never any perſons met their ſupream magiſtrate with more love, duty and honour, than the parliament have met your Highneſs with in their addreſſes; which argument of love, deſerves that eſteem and force which I doubt not but your Highneſs will put upon it. I am fearful to be too tedious at any time, eſpecially at ſo late an hour, and therefore ſhall ſpeak but ſhort to ſome things which I remember not to have been mentioned: Your Highneſs was pleaſed at the laſt meeting to ſay, That the original Inſtitution of the Title, King, was by common conſent, and that the ſame common conſent might inſtitute any other Title, and make it as effectual as that of King: This muſt be acknowledged, but withal, you may be pleaſed to obſerve, That the Title of King is not only by an original common conſent, but that conſent alſo approved and confirmed, and the Law fitted thereunto, and that fitted to the Laws, by the experience and induſtry

'of

' of many Ages, and many hundreds of years toge-
' ther, whereas any other Title will be only by pre-
' ſent common conſent, without that experience and
' approbation: For that experience which your High-
' neſs mentioned to have been of other Titles, and the
' due adminiſtration of Juſtice under them, this ex-
' perience is far ſhort of the other; and for the courſe
' of Juſtice, we have cauſe to thank that care which
' placed ſo good Judges and Officers over us. Yet
' give me leave to ſay, That in private cauſes. be-
' tween party and party, and in publick matters in
' nominal cauſes, it was not eaſie to find Juſtice to
' be done by ſome Jurors, and many queſtions have
' riſen upon the occaſion of thoſe new Titles: Con-
' cerning that tender point of good mens ſatisfaction,
' I think it requires a very great regard from us, and I
' doubt not but thoſe good people will be fully ſatis-
' fied, if they conſider the covenants, promiſes and
' precepts, which in the ſcripture are annex'd to the
' Name of King; and although ſome have alledged,
' that they belong to any chief magiſtrate, as well as
' to King, yet no man did ever read the original
' word tranſlated otherwiſe than King: Neither do I
' find the Title of *Protector* once mentioned in the
' holy Text. If the preſent Authority be a lawful
' Authority, which I hope none of us will deny, ſure-
' ly thoſe good men who are ſo well principled in
' Godlineſs, will not forget that precept of ſubmiſſion
' to Authority, and to be ſatisfied with that which
' lawful Authority ſhall ordain; their Rights and Li-
' berties are the ſame with ours, and the parliament
' cannot adviſe any thing for the preſervation of the
' peoples Rights, but theſe good men are included,
' which I hope will be no diſſatisfaction to them. In
' all the changes which we have ſeen, there hath been
' a diſſatisfaction to ſome, yet ſtill the bleſſing of God
' hath gone a long through all theſe changes, with
' thoſe who carried on his Intereſt; and the cauſe be-
' ing

'ing the ſame, the ſame mercies have been continued. 'And I doubt not, but if the intended change and 'reſtitution be made, as I hope it will, I doubt not 'but the ſame God will continue his bleſſings to that 'Good Old Cauſe wherein we are ingaged, and that 'good men will receive ſatisfaction by it. Your High-'neſs hath been told, That the Title of King is upon 'the foundation of Law, and that a new Title muſt 'have a conſtitution to make the Laws relate unto it, 'and that unto the Laws; I ſhall only add this, That 'a Title by Relation is not ſo certain and ſafe as a Ti-'tle upon the old foundation of the Law, and that a 'Title upon a ſingle preſent conſtitution, as any new 'Title muſt be, cannot be ſo firm as a Title built up-'on the preſent conſtitution, and upon the old foun-'dation of the Law likewiſe, which the Title of King 'will be. If any inconvenience ſhould enſue upon 'your acceptance of this Title which the parliament 'adviſeth, your Highneſs's ſatisfaction will be that 'they did adviſe it.

'On the contrary part, if any inconvenience ſhould 'ariſe upon your Highneſs refuſal of this Title which 'the parliament hath adviſed, your burthen will be 'the greater, and therefore whatſoever may fall out, 'will be better anſwered by your Highneſs comply-'ing with your parliament then otherwiſe; the 'Queſtion is not altogether new, ſome inſtances have 'been given of the like, to which I ſhall add two or 'three. The Title of the Kings of England, in the 'Realm of Ireland, was, Lord of Ireland; and the 'parliament in the 33 year of Hen. 8. relating, That 'inconveniences did ariſe there, by reaſon of that 'Title, did enact, That Hen. 8. ſhould aſſume the 'Stile and Title of King of Ireland, which in the 'judgment of the parliament was preferred before 'the other.

'In the State of Rome new Titles proved fatal to 'their Liberties; their caſe was not much unlike

'ours,

'ours, they were wearied with a Civil War, and coming to a settlement, some would not admit the Title of Rex to be used, but were contented to give the Titles of Cæsar, Perpetual Dictator, Prince, Senate, Emperor: So that at length, the will of Cæsar was their Law, who said, I am not a King but Cæsar. The Northern people were more happy among themselves; a private Gentleman, of a Noble Family, took up Arms with his country-men against a Tyrant, and by the blessing of God, rescued the Native Liberties and Rights of their country, from the oppression of that Tyrant: This Gentleman had the Title of Marshal given unto him, which continued for some years; afterward their *Parliament* judging it best to resume the old Title, Elected this Gentleman King, and with him was brought in the liberty of Protestant Religion, and the establishment of the Civil Rights of that people, which have continued in a prosperous condition ever since in Sweden, unto this day. Sir, I shall make no other application but in my prayers to God, to direct your Highness and the *Parliament*, as I hope he will, to do that which will be most for his honour, and the good of his people.

This speech was made April 26. 1657. but the Protector finding the inclinations of some of the people, and especially of many Officers and Souldiers of the Army, to be very averse to the Title of King, which they had lately renounced, and likewise doubting, as it was then discours'd, that they would fortifie his Title, but weaken his Revenue, who required Nineteen hundred thousand pound a year, for the support of his Government, besides the charge of the Spanish War, he thereupon sent for the Parliament to the Banquetting-house at White-Hall, May 8. following, where he gave them his last, and positive answer to this purpose:

'Mr. Speaker, I am come hither to answer that

'which

which was in your laſt paper to your Committee you ſent me, which was in relation to the deſires which were offered me by the Houſe, in that they called their petition. I confeſs that buſineſs hath put the Parliament to a great deal of trouble, and ſpent much time: I am very ſorry that it hath coſt me ſome, and ſome thoughts, and becauſe I have been the unhappy occaſion of the expence of ſo much time, I ſhall ſpend little of it now: I have, the beſt I can, reſolved the whole buſineſs in my thoughts, and I have ſaid ſo much already in teſtimony of the whole, that I think I ſhall not need to repeat any thing that I have ſaid. I think it is a Government, that the aims of it ſeek much a ſettling of the Nation on a good foot, in relation to Civil Rights and Liberties, which are the Rights of the Nation; and I hope I ſhall never be found to be of them that ſhall go about to rob the Nation of theſe Rights, but to ſerve them what I can to the attaining them: It hath alſo exceeding well provided for the ſafety and ſecurity of honeſt men, in that great, natural, and religious liberty, which is Liberty of Conſcience. Theſe are great fundamentals, and I muſt bear my Teſtimony to them (as I have, and ſhall do ſtill, ſo long as God lets me live in this World) that the intentions of the things are very honourable and honeſt, and the product worthy of a Parliament; I have only had the unhappineſs, both in my conferences with your Committees, and in the beſt thoughts I could take to my ſelf, not to be convicted of the neceſſity of that thing that hath been ſo often inſiſted upon by you, to wit, The Title of King, as in it ſelf neceſſary, as it ſeems to be apprehended by your ſelves; and I do with all honour and reſpect, to the judgment of the Parliament, teſtifie that (ceteris paribus) no private judgment is to lye in the ballance with the judgment of a *Parliament*, but in things that reſpect particular perſons,

every

'every man that is to give an account to God of his 'actions, he must in some measure be able to prove 'his own work, that is, To have an approbation in 'his own conscience of that he is to do or forbear: 'And whilst you are granting others liberties, surely 'you will not deny me this, it being not only a liber-'ty but a duty (and such a duty as I cannot without 'sinning forbear) to examine my own heart and 'thoughts, and judgment, in every work which 'I am to set my hand to, or to appear in for.

'I must confess therefore, that though I do ac-'knowledge all the other, yet I must be a little confi-'dent in this, that what with the circumstances that 'accompany humane actions, whether they be cir-'cumstances of time or persons, whether circumstan-'ces that relate to the whole, or private or particular 'circumstances that compass any person that is to 'render an account of his own actions, I have truly 'thought, and do still think, that if I should (at the 'best) do any thing on this account to answer your 'expectation, it would be at the best doubtingly, 'and certainly what is so, is not of faith; whatsoever 'is not of faith is sin to him that doth it, whether it 'be with relation to the substance of the action, about 'which the consideration is conversant, or whether 'to circumstances about it, which make all indiffe-'rent actions good or evil to him that doth it. I ly-'ing under this consideration, think it my duty, only 'I could have wished I had done it sooner for your 'sake, for saving time and trouble, and indeed for 'the Committees sake, to whom I must acknowledge 'publickly, I have been unseasonably troublesome; 'I say, I could have wished I had given it sooner, 'but truly this is my answer, That although I think 'the Government doth consist in very excellent parts 'in all, but in that one thing the Title, as to me: I 'should not be an honest man if I should not tell you 'that I cannot accept of the Government, nor under-

'take

'take the trouble and charge of it, which I have a 'little more experimented than every man, as to what 'troubles and difficulties do befal men in such Trusts, 'and in such Undertakings: I say, I am perswaded 'to return this answer to you, That I cannot under-'take this Government with the Title of a King, and 'this is mine answer to this great and weighty business.

The Protector having refused the Title of King, the Committee of Settlement was ordered to prepare an Explanatory Act to the humble petition and advice, in respect of the Protectors Oath, his Councils, the Members of Parliament; the other House, which was to consist of about sixty Lords of the Protectors Electing, and having Voted, That Protector should be the Title of the chief Magistrate, and the Petition and Advice being allowed accordingly, the House desired a conference with His Highness, who accordingly meets them, May 25. 1657, in the painted Chamber, where Sir Tho. Widdrington presents him with the humble Petition and Advice, the substance whereof was,

'1. That His Highness Oliver Cromwel, under the 'Title of Lord Protector, would be pleased to exe-'cute the Office of chief Magistrate over England, 'Scotland and Ireland, and the Territories thereun-'to belonging, and to govern according to all things 'in this Petition and Advice; and also, that he would 'in his life time, appoint the person that should suc-'ceed in the Government after his death. 2. That 'he would call a Parliament consisting of two Houses, 'once in three years at farthest. 3. That those per-'sons who are legally chosen by a free Election of 'the people to serve in parliament, may not be ex-'cluded from doing their duties, but by consent of 'that House whereof they are Members. 4. That 'none but those under the Qualifications therein 'mentioned, shall be capable to serve as Members in 'Parliament. 5. That the power of the other House 'be limited as herein prescribed. 6. That the Laws

'and

'and Statutes of the Land be observed and kept, no 'Laws altered, suspended, abrogated or repealed, or 'new Laws made but by Act of Parliament. 7. That 'the yearly sum of a Million of pounds sterling be 'settled for the maintenance of the Navy and Army, 'and three hundred thousand pounds for support of 'the Government, besides other temporary supplies 'as the Commons in Parliament shall see the necessi-'ties of the Nation to require. 8. That the number 'of the Protectors Council shall not be above twenty 'one, whereof the Quorum to be seven. 9. The 'chief Officers of State, as Chancellors, Keepers of 'the Great Seal, &c. to be appointed by Parliament. '10. That his Highness would incourage a godly Mi-'nistry in these Nations, and that such as do revile 'and disturb them in the worship of God, may be 'punished according to Law, and where Laws are 'defective, new ones to be made. 11. That the 'Protestant Christian Religion, as it is contained in 'the Old and New Testament, be asserted and held 'forth for the publick profession of these Nations and 'no other, and that a Confession of Faith be agreed 'upon, and recommended to the people of these 'Nations, and none be permitted by words or wri-'ting, to revile or reproach the said Confession of 'Faith, &c.

The Petition and Advice being read, was by the Protector passed into a Law, though with much seeming reluctancy, as the following Speech declared.

'Mr. Speaker, I am not come hither this day as to 'a Triumph, but with the most serious thoughts that 'ever I had in my life, being to undertake one of the 'greatest burthens that ever was laid upon the back 'of any humane creature, so that without the sup-'port of the Almighty, I must necessarily sink under 'the weight of it, to the damage and prejudice of 'these Nations: And this being so, I must ask the 'help of the Parliament, and the help of all those that

'fear

'fear God, that by their prayers I may receive as-
'sistance from the hand of God, seeing nothing but
'his presence can enable me to the discharge of so
'great a Trust. And seeing this is but an Intro-
'duction to the carrying on the Government of these
'Nations, and forasmuch as there are many things
'which cannot be supplied without the help of a Par-
'liament, I think it my duty to desire your help, not
'that I doubt of it, for I believe that the same spirit
'that led the Parliament to this, will easily suggest
'the rest to them, And truly, nothing could have
'induced me to undertake this intolerable burden to
'flesh and blood, had I not seen that it was the Par-
'liaments care to answer those ends for which they
'have ingaged; and I call God to witness, that I
'would not have undergone it, had I not seen it to
'be determined by the Parliament to make clearly
'for the Liberty and Interest of the Nation, and pre-
'servation of such as fear God, and if these Nations
'be not thankful to you for your care therein, it will
'fall as a sin on their heads. To conclude, I would
'recommend to you the Reformation of the Nation,
'by discountenancing Vice, and giving encourage-
'ment to Good men and Virtue, desiring that you
'would not be wanting in any thing that may make
'for the good of the Nations, wishing the Lord to
'prosper all your aims and endeavours.

This Speech ended, the Members return to their House, and soon after the Protector sends them a Letter, desiring their Adjournment till the Inauguration of the Lord Protector could be performed, and accordingly they passed a Bill for adjourning from June 26. to Jan. 20. following, June 26. being appointed for his Highness solemn Investiture; and the same day a place being prepared in Westminster-Hall, there were two Chairs set, one for the Protector, with a Canopy of State over it, and another for the Speaker, with seats built Scaffold-wise, for the Parliament, on both

both sides, and places below for the Aldermen of London, and others; all which being ready, the Protector came out of a Room adjoining to the Lords House, and in this order proceeded into the Hall: First went his Gentlemen, then an Herald, the Attorney-General, then the Judges, after them Norroy King at Arms, the Lord Commissioners of the Treasury, the Seal carried by Commissioner Fines, then Garter, and after him the Earl of Warwick with the Sword born before the Protector bare-headed, the L. Mayor Tichburn carrying the City Sword by his left hand: Being seated in the Chair, on the left hand stood the L. Mayor, and the Dutch Ambassador, and on the right the E. of Warwick, and the French Ambassador, next behind him stood his Son Richard, L. Fleetwood, and L. Cleypool, and the Privy-council, upon a lower descent stood the Lords Montague and Whitlock with drawn Swords.

Then the Speaker Sir Tho. Widdrington, in the Name of the Parliament, presented to him several things that were laid on the Table, which were a Robe of purple Velvet, a Bible, a Scepter, and a Sword, on each of which the Speaker made a short Comment as he delivered them.

'1. The Robe of purple: This is an Emblem of 'Magistracy, and imports Righteousness and Justice; 'when you have put on this Vestment, I may say 'you are a Gown-man. This Robe is of a mixt co-'lour, to shew the mixture of Justice and Mercy; 'indeed a Magistrate must have two hands, Plectentem & Amplectentem, to Cherish and to Punish. '2. The Bible is a Book that contains the Holy Scriptures, in which you have the happiness to be well 'versed: This Book of Life consists of two Testaments, the Old and New, the first shews Christum 'Velatum; the second, Christum Revelatum, Christ 'Veiled and Revealed: It is a Book of Books, and 'doth contain both Precepts and Examples for good

'Government.

'Government. 3. Here is a Scepter, not unlike a 'Staff to the weak and poor, it is of ancient use in 'this kind. It's said in Scripture, That the Scepter 'shall not depart from Judah; it was of the like use 'in other Kingdoms, however the Greek Poet cails 'Kings and Princes Scepter-bearers. 4. The last 'thing is a Sword, not a Military but Civil Sword; it 'is a Sword rather of Defence than Offence, not to 'defend your self only, but your people also. If I 'might presume to fix a Motto upon this Sword, as 'the Valiant Lord Talbot did upon his, it should be 'this, Ego sum Domini Protectoris ad protegendum 'populum meum, I am the Lord Protectors to pro-'tect my people.

After this the Speaker returned again to the Chair, and administred the Oath to the Protector in these following words,

'I do in the presence, and by the Name of Almigh-'ty God, promise and swear, that to the uttermost 'of my power, I will uphold and maintain the true 'Reformed Protestant Christian Religion in the pu-'rity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures 'of the Old and New Testament, to the uttermost of 'my power and understanding, and incourage the 'profession and professors of the same: And that to 'the utmost of my power, I will endeavour, as chief 'Magistrate of these three Nations, the maintenance 'and preservation of the peace and safety, and just 'Rights and Priviledges of the people thereof; and 'shall in all things, according to my best knowledge 'and power, govern the people of these Nations ac-'cording to Law.

The Oath administred, Dr. Manton made a Pray-er, and then an Herald stood up aloft, giving signal to a Trumpet to sound three times; after which, he did by Authority and Direction of Parliament, publish and proclaim his Highness Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of England, Scotland and Ireland,

requiring all persons to yield him due obedience. This Proclamation ended, the Trumpets again sounded, and some Souldiers and other cryed out, God save the Lord Protector: Then was he again proclaimed by an Officer at Arms, standing on the Stairs. The Ceremonies ended, the Protector attended by all the Officers of State, went into the Palace-Yard in his Robes, where entring his Coach, he returned in State to White-Hall.

This year an Insurrection was designed by those called Fifth Monarchy men, who had divers meetings in an House in Shore-Ditch, several of them being discontented persons, who had been formerly of the Army; they had appointed to have Rendevouzed on Mile-end-Green, and so have marched into other Countries to augment their party. At length they were seized, and some Arms and Ammunition taken with them, and a Standard with a Lyon Couchant, with this Motto, Who shall rouse him up. The Men taken were Venner, a Wine-Cooper, with their Scribe Grey, Goaler Hopkins, Ashton, and others: About them was found a Declaration in print, called, The principle of the Remnant; they were committed to prison, but after released without prosecution. Likewise Maj. Gen. Harrison, Vice-Admiral Lawson, Coll. Rich, and Coll. Danvers, were secured as Discontents. About this time the victorious General Blake returning from the Coasts of Spain, fell sick of the Scurvy and Dropsie, and dyed just entring into Plymouth Sound, where he passionately inquired for Land; he was buried with an handsome Funeral from Greenwich, and interr'd in Hen. 7. Chappel at Westminster.

The Protector to keep the Spaniards imployed every where, makes a private agreement with France to send a Brigade of his best Infantry, (which the French extreamly wanted, to Flanders) consisting of 6000 men, and about May 4. 1657. they arrived in Picardy, and joined with those Forces commanded

by

by the Marshal Turein, to which the protector was the more induced because the K. of Spain had invited K. Charles into his Dominions since the breach with England, and he was then at Bruges full of expectation of being restored by the power of that King; and the Marquess of Ormond, the Lord Wilmot, the Lords Gerrard and Wentworth, the Lord Twaf, and General Middleton, had their several Regiments Quartered about the Sea coasts in order to a Descent, and the Dukes of York and Gloceſter had likewise commands in Flanders. Sir John Reynolds, one of Cromwels Knights, formerly Commissary General of the Army in Ireland, was General of the English Forces, and coll. Morgan Major Gen. Before their embarquement they Rendevouzed at Black-Heath, where Mr. Hugh Peters gave them a Sermon for incouragement, and were shipped with a months pay in hand, and all new red coats.

About the middle of September, the French and English Forces advance into the Spanish Territories, and according to agreement sate down before Mardike, a strong Fortress, and put themselves between it and Dunkirk: General Montague riding before the Splinter with a Fleet of War, it was not long before a continued Battery made the besieged quit the wooden Fort, which so incommoded them when taken by the English, that they were obliged to yield to mercy, Turenne not allowing them better terms because they had refused his first offers: Mardike was presently put into the hands of the English according to agreement, in consideration of our assistance, and coll. Morgan took possession thereof with several Regiments, whom the Spaniards soon after endeavoured to remove, by a sudden and fierce assault, after the Armies were drawn into Winter Quarters, since being only two miles from Dunkirk, they were very fearful it might indanger that Town also. Whereupon, Don John of Austria resolved to hazard a Sea-

lado and Attack by Night; the Duke of York, and the Marqueſs of Caravene managed the buſineſs, and K. Charles, and the D. of Gloceſter, had conveyed themſelves into Dunkirk to obſerve the ſucceſs of it, Oct. 22. About 4000 Engliſh, Scots, Iriſh, and ſome Spaniards, about Ten a Clock at Night, began the ſtorming of Mardike with Hand-Granadoes, and all other Engines proper for an aſſault, and were got into the Trenches, and had mounted the Scaling Ladders, but the Engliſh within being ready to receive them, commanded by Reynolds, Morgan, and Lillingſtone, who were there at that time, the Aſſailants were with great ſlaughter repulſed and beaten down; the Cannon in the mean time, from the Engliſh Fleet in the Splinter, firing their broadſides upon them, being directed by four great Torches ſet up at the four corners of the Fort, how to avoid damaging it. Yet about four a Clock in the morning, the D. of York commanded the aſſault to be renewed, which was done with greater fury, but to as little purpoſe or advantage as before, ſo that day light approaching they were forced to retreat, carrying away the dead in Waggons, which were judged to be ſome hundreds, though the number was not certainly known.

Since force would not prevail, the Duke deſigned to attempt the regaining this important place by ſtratagem, to which purpoſe he imployed a Scotch Knight, who was well acquainted with General Reynolds, to repreſent to him the advantages he might obtain by ſerving the King, and promoting his Intereſt and Reſtoration, which it ſeems ſo far prevailed, that Reynolds agreed to give the Duke a meeting betwixt Dunkirk and Mardike, with a party of Horſe on either ſide. At their approach, Reynolds ſhewed much reſpect to the Duke, and ſome private diſcourſes paſſed between them which were never made publick, and then the General returned to the Fort, and the Duke to Dunkirk. The Protector having Intelligence

ligence of this Enterview, dispatcht away a messenger to command General Reynolds instantly to London, which he, with Coll. White, and the General's Secretary, readily obeying, and taking the first ship that was ready, and would venture to go off, which was a Dutch Pink of 100 Guns, in a stormy Night, Dec. 12 (a Frigate offering to wait upon him the next morning) he was cast away the same Night on the back of the Goodwin-sands, his Chest, Sword, and Belt, being found thereabout, and Coll. Morgan commanded in his place.

About this time there happened Wars between the two Northern Crowns, and the Danes having attacked Bremer-warden, a very strong place, and soon after master'd it, the Protector sent Sir Philip Medows Envoy to the K. of Denmark, and Coll. Jephson to the K. of Sweden, then journying out of Poland, (where he was ingaged in War likewise) to meet this new Enemy: They were both well received, and during this Mediation the Protector sent supplies of 2000 men and arms to his Ally the K. of Sweden.

Mean while the protector at home was swearing his Privy Council, persuant to one of the Articles of the humble petition and advice, and his Son Richard was made one, and also Chancellor of the University of Oxford: His Son Henry was constituted Lord Deputy of Ireland; and his Son-in-law, the Lord Fleetwood, was designed to be Lord Commissioner of Scotland, where General Monk at present commanded. He likewise, in this interval of Parliament, made choice of several persons to fill up the other House or House of Lords (according to the fourth Article of the Petition and Advice) being sixty two in number, many of whom refused to appear or act with them; their Names were these:

Lord Rich. Cromwel,	L. President Lawrence,
L. Henry Cromwel,	Lr. Gen. Fleetwood,
L. Commissioner Lisle,	Robert E. of Warwick,

Edw. E. of Manchester,	Oliver St. Johns,
L. Say and Seal,	Will. Pierepoint,
L. Viscount Lisle,	John Crew,
L. Viscount Howard,	Alex. Popham,
Philip L. Wharton,	Philip Jones,
L. Falconbridge,	Sir Christopher Pack,
L. Ewers,	Sir Robert Tichbourn,
John Cleypool,	Edward Whaley,
John Desborough,	John Berkstead,
General Montague,	Sir John Hewson,
Bulstrode Whitlock,	Sir Thomas Pride,
William Sydenham,	Sir George Fleetwood,
Sir Charles Woolsey,	Richard Ingoldsby,
Sir Gilb. Pickering,	James Berry,
Maj. Gen. Skippon,	William Goff,
Walter Strickland,	Thomas Cooper,
Francis Rous,	Edmund Thomas,
John Jones,	General Monk,
Sir Will. Strickland,	David Earl of Cassills,
Sir Francis Russel,	Sir William Lockhart,
Sir Tho. Honeywood,	Lord Warreston,
Sir Arth. Haslerig,	William Steel,
Sir John Hobard,	Roger Lord Broghill,
Sir Rich. Onslow,	Sir Matt. Tomlinson,
Sir Gilb. Gerrard,	William Lenthall,
Sir William Roberts,	Richard Hamden.
John Glyn,	

He likewise made three Commissioners of the Great Seal:

Nath. Fiennes,	William Lenthall, Master
John Lisle,	of the Rolls.

Judges of both Benches.

Of the Upper Bench:	Of the Common Bench:
John Glyn, L.C. Justice,	Edward Atkyns,
Philip Warlinton,	Matthew Hale,
Richard Nudigate,	Hugh Windham,
Oliver St. John.	

Barons

Barons of the Exchequer: Attorney General,
Robert Nicholas, Edmund Frideaux:
John Parker, Sollicitor General,
Roger Hill, VVilliam Ellis.
Erasmus Earl.

The time of the prorogation of the parliament being expired, they make their appearance again, and the persons above-named met in the House of Lords, where the protector coming, he sends to the Commons to tell them, that he desired their attendance in the House of Peers, wither the Speaker and the Members go, to whom he makes a very pleasing speech, concluding, 'That if they would go on to 'prosecute what they had begun, they should be cal-'led the blessed of the Lord, and the Generations to 'come would bless them. After which the Lord Commissioner Fiennes spake to them, declaring what occasions the Government had for money, and that the money already granted, though it was thought sufficient, yet fell much beneath the expence and necessity of the state; especially that Tax upon the new buildings, failed altogether of what was expected and intended by it, and so recommended the whole affair to their consideration.

Being sate in their Houses, the other House sent to the Commons, by two of their Members, a message for a day of Humiliation, and were returned with this answer, The House will consider of it; and then they Voted, that for two months time liberty should be given to exhibit any petitions against undue Elections, and consented to a Fast, which was kept within the walls of both Houses, by Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Caryl, Mr. Calamy, and Mr. Griffith.

The parliament, according to the fourth Article of the Petition and Advice, which says, 'That no Mem-'bers legally chosen should be excluded from perfor-'mance of their duty but by consent of parliament, immediately proceed to the calling over, and re-admitting

mitting those members which had formerly been secluded by the Protector, to His Highness great discontent. The House being now full, began to slight the other House, which they said, being a power created by a part of a parliament, ought not to have a Negative Voice over a full House, and at length they proceeded to question the protectors power in calling and authorizing them to sit as an House of *Peers*. The protector doubting to what height these debates might arise, *Feb.* 4. 1657. he goes to the House of Lords, and by the Usher of the black Rod sends to acquaint the Commons of his being there; so the speaker and members coming to the Bar, His Highness sitting under a Chair of State made a long speech, and in conclusion told them, 'That it did concern 'his Interest, as much as the publick peace and tran-'quillity of the Nation, to dissolve this parliament, 'and therefore he did now put an end to their sitting: So the House in obedience to his commands dissolved. This was the fourth parliament he had dissolved, having turned out the Long parliament, the Little parliament, the Recognition parliament, and the present Junto. It was said of the three latter, which was summoned by Cromwel himself, 'That the first was cal-'led but not chosen: The second did just nothing: 'And the third did nothing Just.

The Royalists now make another attempt for restoring King Charles, of which the protector had Intelligence by his Emissaries, so that when the design was just ripe for execution, he published a Proclamation for all Cavaliers to depart twenty miles from London and Westminster, and the Marquess of Ormond, who was personally concerned in the Intrigue, with much difficulty escaped in a small Boat from Sussex to Flanders; but several others were seized, as Coll. Russel, Sir *Will.* Compton, Sir *Will.* Clayton, Mr. Mordant brother to the Earl of Peterborough, *Dr.* John Hewit preacher at St. Gregories by St. Pauls, Mr. *Wood-*

cock,

cock, Mr. Manſel, Mr. Mallory, Sir Henry Slingsby, and many more; moſt of them were kept cloſe priſoners till ſome were prevailed upon to be Witneſſes againſt others. The deſign was laid in Kent, Eſſex, Surrey and Suſſex, the King being ready to have paſſed over from Flanders with an Army, under the conduct of Count Marcin the P. of Cond.'s General, and Portſmouth, Hull, and other Maritime Fortreſſes, were treated for. The Protector ſent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, acquainting them with what diſcoveries he had made, and the danger they were in, who thereupon choſe a new Lieutenancy, and changed the Officers of the Trained Bands, and the Protector doubled his Guards, and an alarm was given, that on May 16. the Cavaliers had appointed for their riſing, and firing the Town, and all the Souldiers about the City were to be murdered, whereupon all the ſix Regiments were raiſed at once, and divers Citizens ſeized.

Soon after another High Court of Juſtice was erected, before whom Dr. Hewit, and Sir Henry Slingsby, were brought and charged with High Treaſon upon theſe Articles: '1. That they 'had traiterouſly and maliciouſly endeavoured to raiſe force, and 'levy War againſt his Highneſs and the Government, and to ſub-'vert and alter the ſame. 2. That they had traiterouſly declared, 'publiſhed, and promoted, Charles Stuart, eldeſt Son of the late 'K. Charles, to be King of England, Scotland and Ireland. 3. That 'they had held Intelligence with the ſaid Charles Stuart. Dr. Hewit would not own the Court, but pleaded ſeveral caſes againſt it, and was therefore condemned as mute. Mr. Mordant was next ſet to the Bar, who argued ſo very plainly and fully againſt the Evidence, that he was acquitted by one voice only. Sir Henry Slingsby defended himſelf by alledging, That what was ſaid by him about ſeducing the Governor of Hull, and perſwading him to ſurrender that Garriſon to the King, was but only in Jeſt and diſcourſe: He was found guilty and condemned. Mr. Mallory pleaded guilty and was ſaved. Mr. Woodcock cleared himſelf ſo well, that they could faſten nothing upon him. June 8. 1657. Dr. Hewit and Sir Henry Slingsby were Beheaded on Tower-hill, though many endeavours were uſed, and much ſollicitation made to ſave their Lives. Some other perſons of inferior quality were likewiſe Tryed and Executed upon this account, as Coll. Edw. Aſhton, who was Hang'd and Quartered at Mark-lane-end, in Tower-ſtreet, Edmund Stacy againſt the Royal-Exchange, and John Bettely in Cheapſide.

About this time a great Whale of ſixty foot long came up as far as Greenwich, to the admiration of all that ſaw his vaſt bulk, being perſued with Guns, and other weapons, with great danger, and at length was brought dead to the ſhore.

The French and Engliſh Armies being joined, now ſate down before Dunkirk, reſolving to take it before they ſtirred, which ſtoutly

hotly alarmed the Spaniards in all their Quarters; whereupon Don John of Austria, considering the importance of this place, as being the Key of Flanders, and a Frontier of France, so that if the English possessed it, they might have an opportunity to conquer all Flanders, by the Forces that might be continually landed from England, with the supplies of money which this Town, by their Booties, brought into the Treasury. Upon these and the like motives, he resolved to attempt its relief, though with the hazard of his whole Army, but whilst he is getting them together, the English and French Forces had in a short time run their Trenches to the Spanish Counterscarp, and still approached higher the wall, which the Spaniards having notice of, and fearing their relief might come too late, he made all possible haste to its assistance; the better to effect which, Don John their General dreins most of the Garrisons, and compleats a body of sixteen thousand men, with which he marches with all speed through Fuernes, and incamps within a mile and half of Marshal Turein's Quarters, of which the Confederates having advice, immediately dislodge with a body of about fifteen thousand, leaving still enough to Guard the Trenches, and make good the approaches, if the Townsmen should attempt a Sally. With this Detachment of men, and ten pieces of Cannon, Turein faces the Spaniard: The English Foot were drawn up in four great Battalions, and were ordered to give the first assault upon four other Battalions of Spanish Foot, who had the advantage of the ground, being placed upon three rising Hillocks, and were seconded by Don John himself.

The English were commanded by the L. Lockhart, who having first ordered a Forlorn Hope of 300 Musketeers to mount the Sand Hills, together with his own Regiment of Foot, under Coll. Fenwick, they stoutly maintained their ground, though the Spaniards played down continual Volleys of shot among them, and the French refused to second them: He then sent another considerable Brigade to their relief, who instantly fell in with the But end of their Muskets among the Spanish Foot, and they not being used to such Club Law, left the Field and fled; whereupon the French Horse seeing the good fortune of the English Foot, fell in upon the Spanish Horse, few of whom stood the charge, except those under the command of the Dukes of York and Glocester, who after some resistance, were forced by the number of the assailants to follow the rest.

In this Battel a great part of the L. Lockharts Regiments were either slain or wounded, and Lt. Coll. Fenwick was killed by a Musket Bullet. The slaughter was great, the French Horse being very severe in the pursuit, so that near 3000 were slain, and many Spanish Noblemen killed, wounded, and taken Prisoners. This total rout of the Relievers Army put dispair into the Dunkirkers, who could now expect no relief either by Sea or Land, the English Fleet blocking them up by Sea, and Don John of Austria not being able

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to recruit his Army by Land: Yet the Marquess of Leda, their Governour, to demonstrate some courage, made frequent strong Sallies upon the French Quarters, which seemed to proceed rather from Despair than Valour, for he who was the life of the business received a wound in one of them, of which he shortly dyed, and with him the Spaniards lost possession of the Town of Dunkirk, for after the French and English had played 14 days successively with their Mortar-pieces upon the place, the Besieged grew weary of the sport, and beat a Parley, and the Town was delivered up to them.

Dunkirk being established in the hands of the English, the French Army, after about a months Siege, possess themselves of Graveling, a strong Fortress not far from Dunkirk, so that the English and French had now in their hands all the Frontier Towns on this side Flanders.

Amidst these Triumphs and Successes, the Lady Claypool, the Protectors only Daughter, and whose image she was said to be, Dyed, Aug. 6. at Hampton-Court, from whence she was conveyed by Water four days after, with a great many Mourning Barges, to Westminster, and there laid in the Painted-Chamber, where a stately Hearse was prepared for her, and about Twelve at Night was carried into K. Henry VII. Chappel, and there Interred in a place purposely provided for her. Her death was said to be so grievous to her Father, that it was thought the cause of his own soon after, for having been very melancholly from that time, till about the end of August, his distemper at length appeared to be a Tertian Ague, which together with other malignant humours, so depressed his Vitals, that it brought him to his end, though with many strivings and strugglings, he often falling into Swouns and Trances. He could not be perswaded at first that his Distemper was mortal, saying, 'That as God had carried him to that height, he did firmly 'believe he had some further Work for him to do; and some of his Chaplains were of the same opinion. But his Fits increasing, and causing him to talk delirious, and to faint often, the Privy-Council concluding he could scarce endure another Fit, repaired to him, and earnestly pressed him, according to the first Article of the Petition and Advice, to Nominate his Successor; and though he was hardly sensible, yet they demanding if he did not appoint his Eldest Son Richard to succeed him, he answered YES. The Night before his departure, he was observed to pray as follows:

'LORD, I am a miserable Creature, yet I am in Covenant 'with Thee through Grace, and I may, I will come unto Thee 'for thy people: Lord, thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean Instrument to do them some good, and thee service, 'and many of them had too high a value for me, though others 'would be glad of my fall. But Lord, howsoever thou dost dispose of me, do good to them: Give consistency of Judgment,

'one

one heart and mutual love into them: Let the Name of Christ be Glorious throughout the World: Pardon such as delight to trample upon the Ashes of a Worm, and pardon the folly of this short Prayer, even for Jesus Christ his sake.

This was on Thursday Night, and on Friday Morning, Sept. 3. 1658. his twice Victorious day at Dunbar and Worcester, there appeared all the signs of a dying person, and about Three a Clock in the Afternoon he expired. A day or two before his Death, a very great Tempest happened, which was thought to forbode it.

Thus you have a full account of the end of Oliver Cromwel; Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland, whose Valour mounted him to that height by which he raised his Family almost equal to the best of the Kingdom, and the Nation to that Glory, that Forreign Princes feared and envied him. He had two Sons, Richard who succeeded him, and Henry, who from fifteen years of Age, was by his Father bred a Souldier, and was at his Death Lord Deputy of Ireland: And four Daughters, Bridget first Married to the Lord Deputy Ireton, and afterward to the Lord Fleetwood: Elizabeth his second Daughter, Married to the Lord Cleypool, Master of his Horse. Mary his third, Married to the Lord Falconbridge. Frances his youngest, Married to the Lord Rich, Grandson to the Earl of Warwick.

After his expiration, the Corps was Imbalmed, and wrapped in a sheet of Lead, and Sept. 26. about Ten at Night, removed from White-Hall in a Mourning Hearse, where his Effigies was with great Magnificence exposed publickly to the view of multitudes, who came daily to see it, till November 3. following, and then in great State it was conducted from Somerset-House to Westminster, and placed in the Abbey-Church, under a stately Monument Erected for it, with the Banners and six Ensigns of Honour placed about it, the Corps having been some days before Buried in a Vault purposely provided for it, in King Henry the Sevenths Chappel.

Sic Transit Gloria Mundi.

MVSEVM
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NICVM

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